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PAPERS  
OF THE  
BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME





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*of the*  
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## NOTES ON THE VASES IN CASTLE ASHBY.

By J. D. BEAZLEY.

THE collection of Greek vases formed in Italy by the second Marquess of Northampton is the richest private collection in Great Britain and one of the richest in the world. A good many of the finest pieces are tolerably well known. One or two of them were drawn for Gerhard while they were still in the Roman market; and were published by him in his *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*. A brief notice of the collection was communicated to Gerhard by Birch and published in the *Archäologische Zeitung* for 1846:<sup>1</sup> in 1863 Conze visited Castle Ashby and contributed some observations to the same periodical;<sup>2</sup> but the notes which Furtwängler took in 1881 are much fuller and much more valuable.<sup>3</sup> In 1888 a selection of the vases was exhibited at the Burlington Fine Arts Club and described by Froehner in the catalogue of the exhibition: Froehner's descriptions have zest, and the illustrations, though not numerous, are good. In 1903 a different selection formed portion of another exhibition organised by the same Society, and found place in the illustrated catalogue issued in 1904. In 1903, two important fragments were published by Hartwig in his *Meisterschalen*.

My own acquaintance with the collection goes back to 1913, when Lord Northampton kindly allowed me to pay several visits to Castle Ashby. Some of the information which I then acquired I have incorporated in various works. In 1927 Lord Northampton gave me permission to resume

my studies of his vases. This time I had the assistance of my wife; and her photographs are the prime justification of this article. They enable me to figure several excellent pieces which have never been figured before; and to supplement, sometimes even to supersede, existing publications. The text which accompanies them is not a catalogue of the collection in Castle Ashby, but a brief account of the principal vases, or most of them, and a brief answer to some of the questions which they suggest.

My chief debts I have mentioned already: to Lord Northampton for his generous permission to study and to publish his vases; to my wife for her devoted collaboration.

1. (Pl. I., 1 and 3, and Pl. II., 4.) Clazomenian neck-amphora ('the Northampton vase'). Gerhard, *A. V.* Pls. 317-18; republished, from photographs, in *Burlington Catalogue*, 1903, Pls. 89 and 92 (G 12), and Pls. 90-91. About 540 B.C.

Studniczka was the first to connect this vase with two others, an amphora and a neck-amphora, both in Munich.<sup>4</sup> It was Zahn who saw that 'the Northampton group' was Clazomenian—late Clazomenian, competing with Attic, and under Attic influence.<sup>5</sup> A comparison of the Northampton vase with the two Munich vases, which are now well published in Hackl and Sieveking's catalogue,<sup>6</sup> shows that the three not only form a group, but are the work of a single

<sup>1</sup> pp. 340-2.

<sup>2</sup> 1864, pp. 237-8.

<sup>3</sup> *A. Z.* 1881, pp. 321-4; *Kleine Schriften* II, pp. 81-3.

<sup>4</sup> *Jahrbuch* 5, pp. 142-3.

<sup>5</sup> *Ber. Phil. Hist. 1902*, p. 1261; *Jahrbuch* 23, p. 116. See also Pfuhl, pp. 178-9.

<sup>6</sup> The amphora, Pl. 21, No. 585, and p. 59; the neck-amphora, Pl. 21, No. 586, and pp. 60-2.

hand. Langlotz has discovered, and is to publish, a fourth: a neck-amphora till recently in a Viennese collection and now in Würzburg.

The Burlington half-tones give a good notion of the Northampton vase: our photographs supplement the earlier publications, make some details clear which are wrong in Gerhard and obscure in the catalogue, and render it possible to appreciate the fastidious yet emphatic draughtsmanship.

The foot of the vase is almost exactly the same shape as the foot of the neck-amphora in Munich. The mouth-mouldings are somewhat different. The middle section of the triple handles is reserved: the lower attachment of the handle, as in Munich, sets off from the body. Clay and black are indistinguishable from Attic: the only un-Attic thing in the technique is the simultaneous use of white lines and incised ones for inner markings—a Clazomenian practice. The surface of the Dionysos side is slightly fretted in parts (as if it had lain long in mud), so that some of the incisions have thickened: otherwise the preservation is superb.

It is difficult to speak of obverse and reverse. The picture with the more figures—the Dionysos and silens—might seem to be the obverse picture: but the other is even more careful and successful. The artist is at his best in symmetrical decorative compositions: thus the finest part of the Munich neck-amphora is the cunning design of flowers and small animals on the neck;<sup>1</sup> and even in the Argos vase the centaurs on the back are at least as good as the narrative on the front.

The general design of what may be called for convenience the reverse picture can be made out in the Burlington catalogue: Plate I., 3 gives the right-hand portion of the picture—part of the huge idealised tree or plant in the middle of the composition,<sup>2</sup> one of the two crane-riders, the hound, a hedgehog. The crane-riders face each other, brandishing short clubby sticks, with the tree

between, and one may reasonably suppose that they are about to meet in combat. What are they? They have been called just boys. But Pfuhl is no doubt right in calling them pygmies.<sup>3</sup> What one usually sees, of course, is pygmy and crane at odds, and the artist might have put a crane on the right of his tree and a pygmy on the left; but he wanted a tall thing on either side, so he doubled, shuffled, cut, and got his two pairs. Viewed as a representation, his picture illustrates a new era in the history of pygmydom: the cranes have been finally conquered; the war now is civil war; and the cranes must serve their masters as steeds. The short sticks or clubs are the usual weapons of pygmies. But oughtn't pygmies to be deformed?—Not necessarily: in the principal geranomachy of the sixth century, on the foot of the François vase, the pygmies, apart from their size, are of normal physique.<sup>4</sup> The same vase shows us pygmy cavalry; but the mounts are naturally not cranes yet, they are goats. The fox-like dog who accompanies our pygmy has his fellow on the Argos vase; and a dog of the same remarkable breed—with the same sensitive, almost erectile, snout—appears on fragments of a curious Clazomenian vase, found at Egyptian Karnak, in Oxford.<sup>5</sup> The projection below our dog's nose is a mere blot, like that on the nose of the Munich Argos, or that on the hair of the hinder centaur.

Plate I., 1, shows a Triton, from the neck of the vase, and Plate II., 4, a detail of the Dionysiac picture: Gerhard gives the pattern in the dinos wrong, and makes the feet of the flute-player human instead of equine.

2-19: Attic black-figured vases.

2. Small neck-amphora of panathenaic shape, from Cervetri. A, Athena: B, flute-player and two judges. About 550-40 B.C. The neck of the vase is larger than usual, the floral ornament is not the ordinary one, and the columns are surmounted by owls instead of cocks. The foot

<sup>1</sup> Hackl and Sieveking, p. 62.

<sup>2</sup> See Jacobsthal, *Ornamente griechischer Vasen*, pp. 37 and 64.

<sup>3</sup> *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, p. 178; so also Jacobsthal, *Ornamente*, p. 37.

<sup>4</sup> F.R. Pl. 3.

<sup>5</sup> To be published in *Corpus Vasorum*.

does not certainly belong. The Athena is under-set and wears the early, simplest form of cap-helmet. The peplos is red above the waist, lozengy below. The snakes of the aegis are already interlaced. The device on the shield is three white balls: the shield-rim is big and red.



FIG. 1. NECK-AMPHORA IN CASTLE ASHBY.

Furtwängler refers to the vase in his 'notes from England' (*A. Z.* 1881, p. 303 = *Kleine Schriften*, ii. p. 83): he calls it one of the earliest panathenaic vases, but dates it, as was natural fifty years ago, 'at the end of the sixth century, or perhaps the beginning of the fifth.' Not far off is an amphora of panathenaic shape in Norwich, No. 8, with Athena on one side and a wrestling-match on the other. The shield-device is the same, the columns are owl-topped, the neck-

pattern is abnormal, the snakes are interlaced, and the style is not unlike.

3. (Pl. II., 1-3, and Figs. 1, 2.) Neck-amphora, of eggy shape. Arming. Neck-pictures, Dionysos and Ariadne with silens. About 550-40 B.C.: by the Amasis painter. The upper side of the mouth is black: a red line just inside



FIG. 2. FROM A NECK-AMPHORA IN CASTLE ASHBY.

the mouth. The handles cylindrical, the shoulder-fillet black. Under the foot, a black dipinto, V, and a graffito, EN.

The shape does not recur among the extant vases of the Amasis painter, though it finds fairly close analogies among those of the Affected painter, who is related to him.<sup>1</sup> It is in the main that of the Tyrrhenian amphorae (eggy body, echinus mouth, foot obechinous without base-fillet) - a favourite shape with Attic potters

<sup>1</sup> On the Affected, see Kuro in *J.H.S.* xix. pp. 147-53, and my *Attic Black-figure: a Sketch*, pp. 23 and 37-8

in the second and part of the third quarter of the sixth century. But the designer has not contented himself with taking over the traditional shape: he has broadened it and strengthened it.

On one side of the vase, a bearded warrior, wearing a leather or linen corslet,<sup>1</sup> a skin round his waist, and a sword at his side, is receiving his helmet from a naked youth, his squire, who holds the helmet in his left hand and a spear in his right. Behind the warrior stands another naked youth with a spear. Behind the first squire is a woman, also holding a spear: on her left arm she has a shield—the warrior's rather than her own—with the forepart of a lion for device. To the left of these four is a warrior, companion of the first, fully armed except for greaves and shield; and to the right of them a third squire, wearing a short cloak, and holding a spear: by his side, a dog. There are a great many spears: spears are often held in this period where sticks would be held later. It is hardly possible to name the warrior: the handing of the helmet is a common motive in the sixth century.<sup>2</sup>

The picture on the other side is not unlike the first. But here the warrior is putting on his greaves, his companion is replaced by a youth dressed in long chiton and himation, the blazon is a swan, there is no dog; and so on.

The two neck-pictures are also very much alike. Plate II., 3, gives one of them: Dionysos looks at the face of his bride, and a pair of satyrs testify their admiration. In the other, the god and the heroine are almost exactly the same, but the attitudes of the satyrs are different. The execution is much less precise than in the body-pictures.

The vase is not free from restoration, the breaks having been freely painted over. Modern on A, the upper part of the left knee in 1, and part of his thighs; in 2, the right knee and a bit of the left leg; in 3, the legs from mid-calf to ankle, the face, the left forearm, and part of the left hand; the right shoulder and part of the

upper arm; in 4, the right thumb, and a piece of the penis and waist; in 5, part of the face, a bit of the shield-rim; in 6, a slice through the body of the dog: on B, the feet of 1, part of the calves and feet of 2: in 3, part of nose, eye, and forehead, the right hand except the thumb, most of the right foot, a patch on the thighs; in 4, a strip of the lower legs and another of the thumb; in 5, a section of the clothes, below the shield; in 6, the buttocks. The neck-pictures are unimpaired.

The style is the same as in the oinochoai with the signature of Amasis and in the small amphorae, for instance those in Berlin, which are inseparable from the oinochoai. A list of vases by the Amasis painter, signed and unsigned, I have given elsewhere.<sup>3</sup>

4. (Pl. I., 2; Pl. III., 1; Pl. IV., 1, 2.) Neck-amphora of special shape, with band-handles, from Etruria. *Burlington Catalogue*, 1903, Pl. 89, G 9. About 540 B.C. Three friezes on the body: upper frieze, komos—youths, and women in short shifts, capering: middle frieze, Herakles and the Lion, with plenty of men and youths watching, and under one handle a horseman: the further one gets from the hero, the looser becomes the connection with the main scene, and the two pairs of man and youth practically form an independent subject on the back of the vase: lower frieze, narrower, animals—lionesses, sirens, cocks, and swans: then lotus-bud. The lid belongs.

Froehner speaks of the vase as being in the style of Nicosthenes,<sup>4</sup> and this is repeated in the catalogue of 1903.<sup>5</sup> The shape does bear a superficial resemblance to the regular Nicosthenic neck-amphora; but look closer, and the resemblance vanishes: our vase is fine and subtle; it makes the Nicosthenic speciality seem an abortion.

There is one other vase of exactly the same shape and decorated by the same artist—Louvre E 705.<sup>6</sup> I had always thought of this parallel as a commonplace; and am rather surprised to find

<sup>1</sup> See Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen*, p. 141.

<sup>2</sup> See my *Vases in Poland*, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Attic Black-figure*, pp. 31–6.

<sup>4</sup> *Burlington Catalogue*, 1888, p. 49, No. 111.

<sup>5</sup> G 9

<sup>6</sup> Figured in *B.C.H.* 1893, p. 432 (Pottier).

it nowhere set down. The Paris vase is in bad condition: the clay has turned pink and friable, the foot is false, and many of the figures are hideously repainted. The Northampton vase, on the other hand, is excellently preserved, except in one place: a patch comprising the left leg of Herakles and a good piece of the lion, the three animals below them, and the adjacent pattern, has been affected by moisture: the same thing was observable in the Clazomenian vase described above; and perhaps one may take this as a token that the two were found in the same tomb. The siren with the lotus-bud below it, the leg of Herakles, and part of the cock, are repainted: the siren worst. The style of the drawing is the same in both vases, Castle Ashby and Louvre E 705, from the composition down to small details like the curls on the iliac crest, the nipples, the eyes, the penis; and this style bears no resemblance to that of Nicosthenic vases. The Louvre vase passes as Ionic<sup>1</sup> in the museum, and it has one or two features which might be pointed to as Ionic—the narrow eyes of the men,<sup>2</sup> the rather Clazomenian aspect of one of the satyrs. Another unhappy suggestion, that it is Laconian,<sup>3</sup> has been countenanced by Pfuhl.<sup>4</sup> There can be no doubt, I believe, that the Louvre vase and its fellow in Castle Ashby are Attic. They much resemble the works of the Affected painter,<sup>5</sup> which have also been dubbed, without cause, Ionian. Compare the horseman on the Castle Ashby vase with the horseman on the Affected vase in Munich published by Buschor:<sup>6</sup> not the same hand, but the very same spirit and the very same conception of form. Froehner alludes, very properly, to ‘the ludicrous movements’ of the dancers on the shoulder. The author of the 1903 catalogue goes farther: ‘the gestures are probably not intended to be grotesque; but what

strikes a modern spectator as quaint or exaggerated is due to the artist’s inability to express difficult motions naturally or to show limbs foreshortened.’ This is meant kindly; but the painter needs no such defence. As I have said elsewhere, he and the Affecter are mannerists; and ‘at a time when painting is looking into the distance, aware of being on the brink of vast changes and adventures; they turn their backs on the future, cleave to the traditional style, and glory in just those features which are beginning to seem old-fashioned.’<sup>7</sup>

A third vase by the same painter as our pair—I call him Elbows Out—is in Boston: a masterpiece of pottery, a hydria with the Return of Hephaistos on the body, and men and women, rejoicing in their youth, on the shoulder.<sup>8</sup> A fourth, much less fine, is a lekythos in Athens, C 493: Collignon and Couve, Pl. 30, No. 693, give the shape.

Among the fragments from Naucratis in the British Museum there is one—probably part of a cup—which must be by the same painter as the Louvre E 705 and its fellow in Castle Ashby: what remains is a naked youth dancing and bits of two naked women, also dancing, one on each side of him. This fragment takes with it three small fragments—not parts of cups—in Oxford, also from Naucratis: the subject is the same in all three—males and females grouped together in the most voluptuous attitudes.

5-9. Five lip-cups. About 540 B.C.

5. Signed by the maker, Tleson son of Nearchos: *Burlington Catalogue*, 1888, Pl. 17; *Burlington Catalogue*, 1903, Pl. 92, G 16; Hoppin, *B.f. Vases*, p. 377; *Attic B.f.* Pl. 5, 1; two goats butting, with a plant between. On the plant see Jacobsthal, *Ornamente*, p. 67.

6. Signed by the same. *Burlington Catalogue*,

<sup>1</sup> Pottier, *Cat. des vases du Louvre*, pp. 540-1, and *Vases antiques du Louvre*, p. 67.

<sup>2</sup> In the Castle Ashby vase, Herakles has the usual black-figure eye, the others the special eye.

<sup>3</sup> *J.H.S.* xxx, p. 29 (Droop). There is a tendency to call all vases with myrtle-wreaths Laconian or Cyrenaic: thus Milani’s description of an Attic lekythos in Florence as Cyrenaic is

accepted by Libertini (*Bull. d’Art*, 1921, p. 159), and even by Dugas (*Rev. arch.* 27 (1928), p. 611).

<sup>4</sup> *Mémoires*, pp. 230-1 and 283.

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 13.

<sup>6</sup> *I.R.* Pl. 153, 2.

<sup>7</sup> *Att. Black-figure*, p. 23.

<sup>8</sup> 95, 62; *F.R.* iii, p. 222, fig. 106: clearer, Hambidge, *Dynam. & Symmetry*, p. 57: the shape only, Caskey, *Geometry of Greek Vases*, p. 103.



1903, Pl. 89, G 1; Hoppin, *B.f. Vases*, p. 379. A, a goat: B, the like.

7. Signed by the same. Hoppin, *B.f. Vases*, p. 378. A, a cock: B, the like.

8. Signed by the maker, Hermogenes. A, Hoppin, *B.f. Vases*, p. 121, and *Cambridge Ancient History*, Plates, i, p. 375, e. A, a female head in outline: B, the like.

9. A black-figured band-cup signed by the same. *Burlington Catalogue*, 1903, Pl. 89, G 8; Hoppin, *B.f. Vases*, p. 120. A, a warrior and his chariot; B, the like. There are similar cups, with the signature of Hermogenes, in Oxford, Cambridge, Munich, and Florence (Hoppin, *B.f. Vases*, pp. 131, 122, 130, and 123).

I have nothing more to say about these five cups, except to express my admiration.

10. Neck-amphora of Nicosthenic shape, with the signature of the maker, Nikosthenes. About 530 B.C. *Burlington Catalogue*, 1903, Pl. 89, G 2; Hoppin, *B.f. Vases*, p. 195. Neither Froehner nor Klein nor Hoppin describes the vase accurately: Klein speaks of a pair of eyes on each side, instead of a single eye; Froehner and Hoppin omit the nose. Furtwängler's description is correct. Well preserved, and none the worse, considering what Nikosthenes is, for having no human figures on it.<sup>1</sup>

11. Neck-amphora of Nicosthenic shape, with the signature of the maker, Nikosthenes: from Etruria. *Archaeologia*, 32, Pl. 15; *Burlington Catalogue*, 1903, Pl. 89, G 3; Hoppin, *B.f. Vases*, p. 194. About 530 B.C. There are two other inscriptions on the vase, which Froehner reads +ΑΙΡΑΙΑ ΚΑ... and interprets as the names of the cocks over which they are written, although he does not say what he takes those names to be. Klein combines the two into a love-inscription—'+ΑΙΡΑΙΑ (sic) ΚΑ[λη]' :<sup>2</sup> Hoppin, I don't know why, prefers

+ΑΙΡΑΙΑ ΚΑ[λος].<sup>3</sup> The vase itself gives, over one of the cocks, +ΑΙΚΑΙΑ . . . , and over the other something like +ΑΙ . . . These incomplete inscriptions are evidently nonsense,<sup>4</sup> and the love-name, or cock-name, Chairaia, must be abandoned. And perhaps more: the vase is not nearly so well preserved as the other Nikosthenes: the foot appears not to belong and not to be of the proper shape; and it seemed to me quite possible that the cocks themselves might be alien—fragments worked in by the restorers to fill up a gap.

12. Kyathos. (Pl. III., 2.) Silens plucking grapes. About 525 B.C. 'Five satyrs, bearded and carrying the *hippoursis*, pick large bunches of grapes, of which some are painted black, others white. The vintagers take the most comic poses, and some hang on to the vines like monkeys. Fine archaic style. The drawing extremely delicate.' So Froehner.<sup>5</sup>

In antique vintage-scenes the workers are usually satyrs:<sup>6</sup> and Nemesianus has described the process in harmonious verse:

interea pueri florescit pube iuventus  
flavaque maturo tumuerunt tempora cornu.  
tum primum lactas extendit pampinus uvas:  
mirantur satyri trondes et poma lyaci.  
tum deus: 'O satyri, maturos carpite fetus,'  
dixit, et 'ignotos primi calcate racemos.'  
'ix haec ediderat, decerpunt vitibus uva,  
et portant calathis, celerique elidere planta  
concava saxa super properant: vindemia fervet  
collibus in summis: crebro pede rumpitur uva,  
nudaque purpureo sparguntur pectora musto.

Besides the three satyrs shown in the photograph, there is one running up from the left and another from the right. The vase is broader than most kyathoi in proportion to its height, and the date is a little earlier: the kyathos London B 693 is of the same shape.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> On Nikosthenes, see *Attic B.f.*, pp. 23-4.

<sup>2</sup> *Liedlingsinschriften*, p. 38. <sup>3</sup> *B.f. Vases*, p. 194.

<sup>4</sup> See *Vases in Poland*, p. 4, for this particular kind of nonsense inscription.

<sup>5</sup> *Burlington Catalogue*, 1888, p. 51.

<sup>6</sup> On vintage-scenes, Deffner in *Eph. arch.*, 1924, pp. 105-13. The vase in Athens which he publishes is much restored.

See also the charming fragments in Philadelphia, *Museum Journal*, 4, p. 160: the 'object not easily to be identified' (p. 161) is not 'the head of a pet bird,' but the satyr's right hand, holding a grape: compare *C.I.* Oxford, Pl. 4, 4, and text.

<sup>7</sup> Walters, *B.M. Cat.* ii, Pl. 7, above: the picture, Dionysos sitting with two big vine-branches in his hand, is not black-figure, but in white, with details red and incised.

13. Hydria. *Burlington Catalogue*, 1903, Pl. 99, G 20. The Judgment of Paris. Shoulder-picture, Herakles and the Lion. Predella, animals. Graffito + ΔΑΥ. About 525 B.C.

The Judgment of Paris on a hydria in Berlin provides a very close analogy (1895: Gerhard, *E.C.V.* Pl. 14). The Berlin hydria is by the Antimenes painter:<sup>1</sup> the Castle Ashby hydria is

This is an exceptionally fine example, both in shape and in decoration, of the later black-figured amphora. The body is a little fuller than usual, the handle-palmettes a little more elaborate. By the same painter, a much-admired hydria in Madrid (10913; Leroux 69; Ossorio, *Vasos griegos*, Pl. 19, 1; the picture alone, Leroux, Pl. 12: Herakles and Apollo, the Struggle for



FIG. 3. FROM A NECK-AMPHORA IN CASTLE ASHBY.

not by him, but by another painter working to the same model at the same time and in the same surroundings.

14. Neck-amphora. Gerhard, *A. V.* Pl. 108, Figs. 3-5, A, Herakles and Geryon: B, Herakles at rest. About 520 B.C.: by the Madrid painter. Some repainting along the breaks: the whites refreshed.

the Tripod), a hydria in the Vatican (*Mus. Greg.* ii. Pl. 10, 2: Herakles and Kyknos),<sup>2</sup> and a column-krater in the Museo Civico at Orvieto (photos. Armoni: A, Herakles and the Amazons; B, Dionysos with Hermes and a nymph). Let us call him the Madrid painter. The four vases are connected with each other by the drawing of the body and of the drapery: note especially the

<sup>1</sup> No. 55 in my list of the painter's works, *J.H.S.* xlvii, pp. 82-8.

<sup>2</sup> I am glad to find that Zahn has anticipated me in assigning

the Madrid and Vatican hydria to a single hand (*F.R.* iii p. 233, note 22).

ankles, done with two lines set rather close to each other and very near the heel, and the line running upwards from the outer of the two; the knees and elbows and arms, the nails, the opening along the sleeves; the collar-bone of Herakles in our vase and in the Vatican hydria. The drawing is much less vigorous in the Madrid hydria than in our vase, and the spirit is other: the reason is that Madrid is earlier. Its neat figures, with something guileless, even girlish about them, are in the delicate taste of the earliest red-figure period—the period of the eye-cups.



FIG. 4. FROM THE GERYON NECK-AMPHORA IN CASTLE ASHBY.

Pheidippos, the young Epiktetos, the young Oltos. But in Castle Ashby the spirit is that of Euphronios: and the Herakles is the brother of him who advances with tramp of thunder, in the Arezzo krater upon the Amazons, in the Munich cup upon tricorpor Geryon.<sup>1</sup> The Vatican hydria stands between Madrid and Castle Ashby, but nearer to Castle Ashby: sharing with it, among other things, the frontal view—dear to the new age—of the extended leg, and a passion for pilosity.

The krater in Orvieto is more akin to Madrid, though not so careful.

The three chief representations of the geryonomachy—the Chalcidian neck-amphora,<sup>2</sup> the cup signed by Euphronios,<sup>3</sup> the metopes of the Athenian Treasury at Delphi<sup>4</sup>—lay stress on the cattle of Geryon, cause of the conflict. Here the cattle are only suggested, but plainly enough: the device on the monster's shield is the forepart of a bull.

On one side of the vase the hero is in action—tackling monsters at the verge of the world. On the other he reclines on a couch under a vine, his garments changed, his weapons and lion-skin laid aside, resting

as after much turmoil  
a blessed soule doth in Elizium.

Hermes stands beside him, and Athena ministers to him. The same scene as on the Andocidean amphora in Munich; but graver and more impressive here than there.<sup>5</sup>

15. Neck-amphora from Vulci: Gerhard, *A.I.* Pl. 137. A, *Burlington Catalogue*, 1903, Pl. 99, G 19. About 520 B.C. A, Athena mounting her chariot: Herakles stands in the chariot, and the goddess is about to drive him to Olympus: a kindred theme, then, to the Resting Herakles on the Geryon vase.<sup>6</sup> Apollo stands by with his cithara, attended by Artemis and Leto; and Hermes is at the horses' heads. B, a chariot seen from the front.

Another excellent neck-amphora, not so grand as the Geryon vase, but contemporary with it, closely allied in style, and well above the ordinary level. The picture on A recalls, in many respects, the treatment of the same subject on a neck-amphora in Berlin (1870: Gerhard, *E.C.I.* Pl. 18).

16. Neck-amphora of panathenaic shape. A,

<sup>1</sup> F.R. Pl. 61: F.R. Pl. 22.

<sup>2</sup> F.R. Pl. 152: Rumpf, *Chalkidische Vasen*, Pls. 6-8.

<sup>3</sup> F.R. Pl. 22.

<sup>4</sup> *Fouilles de Delphes*, iv, Pl. 44.

<sup>5</sup> On the subject of B, see also Mingazzini, *Le rappresentazioni*

*vascolari del mito dell' Apoteosi di Herakles*, in *Memorie della R. Accademia dei Lincei*, sixth series, i., pp. 467-70: our vase does not seem to be mentioned.

<sup>6</sup> On the subject of A, see Mingazzini, *op. cit.* pp. 419-32: the Castle Ashby vase is No. 16 on p. 424.

Athena: B, boxers (Pl. XI., 1). Graffito V. End of the sixth century B.C.

The neck-pattern has incision but no red: red shoulder-fillet: no red in the shoulder-tongues; a relief-line on each side of the picture, and another below. Athena wears the Ionic chiton: device, the forepart of a winged horse; shield-rim red; cock-columns.

The right-hand boxer, B, fetches his opponent A a blow with his left: A counters smartly, and

later black-figure time, and there are some pretty good boxing pictures on prize amphorae and uninscribed vases of the same shape. The attitudes of our boxers make one think of a Berlin vase in the manner of the Antimenes painter:<sup>1</sup> but the style of the Berlin vase is quite different and much less vigorous.

17. Neck-amphora of special shape, with the signature of the maker, Andocides (Ἀνδοκίδες ἐποίησε): from Vulci. About 530 B.C.: by the Menon



FIG. 5. FROM A NECK-AMPHORA IN CASTLE ASHBY.

B has to lean back to get his head out of reach. The fists are not clenched—even B's left hand shows the first joints of the fingers—but the Greeks used the open hand a lot, and Dr. Norman Gardiner tells me that there is no reason to suppose this to be practice sparring rather than a match.

The thongs are indicated on the hither hand of each boxer: the off hands are both bare, perhaps through carelessness of the artist.

Boxing contests are particularly popular in the

painter (*J.H.S.* xlvii, p. 92, No. 6). *Burlington Catalogue*, 1888, Pl. 18: after this, Pfuhl, Figs. 267–8 (general view, and A) and Hoppin, *B.f. Vases*, p. 51: there is also a small photograph in *Burlington Catalogue*, 1903, Pl. 92, G 21. The 1888 publication is very good, although the drawings (which I take to be by Anderson) naturally fall short of the original in precision: Pfuhl's half-tones lose a great deal, and Hoppin's are mere blotches. On the neck: A, Dionysos and two silens; B, a chariot seen from the front.

<sup>1</sup> 1831: Gerhard *Antike Vasenwerke*: B, new, Juthner, *Antike Tongeräthe*, p. 74 = Norman Gardiner, *Greek*

*Art and Archaeology*, p. 422: mentioned in *J.H.S.* xlvii, p. 86.

That the Dionysos side is the obverse is made likely by the inscription being on that side. The preservation is perfect.

This vase is the finest of three: the others are in the Louvre<sup>1</sup>—this already compared by Furtwängler—and in the Thorvaldsen Museum at Copenhagen.<sup>2</sup> The pictures on these two vases are not by the Menon painter, but by his companion the Antimenes painter.<sup>3</sup> The three vases agree in the shape and proportions of body and neck, in the general form of the mouth, in the offset ledge for the tongue-pattern above the body, in the way the handles join the mouth, and in the scheme of decoration—the body black, small pictures on the neck. The foot is the same in Castle Ashby as in Copenhagen: a black torus with a red base-fillet, and on the upper surface a tongue-pattern, bordered above by a red line: the foot of Louvre seems to be alien. Louvre and Copenhagen have ridged handles; Castle Ashby triple, set off below, with a key-pattern there, and under that a small neat black palmette. The mouth-mouldings are a little more elaborate in Castle Ashby than in the others, and the chief portion of the mouth bears a black triple net: Copenhagen has a double net in the corresponding place, but in red on a black background: the mouth of Louvre is plain black.

The exquisite pictures on the Castle Ashby vase are by the Menon painter, so called from a red-figured amphora in Philadelphia inscribed *Menon epoiesen*.<sup>4</sup> This red-figured vase is evidently by the same hand as an amphora in Madrid, which is red-figure on one side, black-figure on the other, and which bears like our

vase the signature of Andocides.<sup>5</sup> I have given a list of the Menon painter's works elsewhere; our vase is No. 6 in that list.<sup>6</sup> A monograph on this charming artist, who has a special importance because he stands at the beginning of the red-figure period, and used the old technique as well as the new, is promised by Mr. H. R. W. Smith.<sup>7</sup>

18. Small neck-amphora from Nola. A, two youths apprehending a woman: B, a warrior and his chariot. Beginning of the fifth century B.C.: by the Edinburgh painter. The subject of A is the same as that of an Amasian oinochoe in Berlin;<sup>8</sup> and I suppose as in the protocorinthian arzballos, published by Blinkenberg, in the Louvre.<sup>9</sup> Weiszäcker interpreted the Berlin picture, and Blinkenberg the Paris picture, as Helen abducted by Theseus and Peirithros: and probably these are the best names for our three figures also.

The pictures stand in reserved panels: the handles are double; the shape is like that of the red-figure Nolan amphora and its variants. I am not certain if the mouth belongs. The date is the early decades of the fifth century.

A number of lekythoi and small neck-amphorae are to be attributed to the same artist as this vase. I call him the Edinburgh painter after a lekythos in the Scottish National Museum, which, by the kindness of the director, Mr. Alexander Curle, I figure here as a specimen of style (Fig. 6), in lieu of the Castle Ashby vase, the photographs of which turned out badly. Nos. 1 and 2 in the following list have already been put together by Dr. Luce.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> F. 251: Pottier, *Album*, Pl. 78: *C.I.A.* Louvre III, He, Pl. 39, 5-6.

<sup>2</sup> 38: Inghirami, *I.F.* Pl. 231.

<sup>3</sup> *J.H.S.* xlvii, pp. 63-92: additions in my *B.f. Vases*, pp. 41-2. In *J.H.S.* xlvii, p. 92, I am wrong in saying that the Louvre vase was probably by the Menon painter.

<sup>4</sup> 5399: *Philadelphia Mus. Journal*, 5, pp. 32-6, whence Hoppin, *B.f. Vases*, ii, p. 103.

<sup>5</sup> 11008 (Leroux, 63): *Jahreshefte* 3, pp. 70-1: Leroux, Pls. 5-6: Hoppin *Handbook of R.f. Vases*, i p. 34: Pfuhl, Figs. 317 and 264.

<sup>6</sup> *J.H.S.* xliii, p. 92: see also *ibid.* p. 233. Add a neck-

amphora in Copenhagen (4759: *C.I.A.* Copenhagen, Pl. 107, 1, faces of Dionysos: under each handle, a silen: the same type of vase as *J.H.S.* xlvii, p. 82, No. 3), and a neck-amphora in Palermo (Herakles and Triton) see also above, p. 10, note 3.

<sup>7</sup> See *A.J.A.* 1927, p. 83.

<sup>8</sup> Adamek, *Amasis*, p. 40: Rodenwaldt *Kunst der Antike*, Pl. 9.

<sup>9</sup> *Rev. arch.* 1898, ii, pp. 399-404: Johansen, *Les vases sicyonens*, Pl. 22, 1. The same subject on a lekythos in Athens (404: C.C. 674) which is by a follower of the Amasis painter.

<sup>10</sup> *A.J.A.* 1916, p. 457. See also *Att. B.f.*, p. 31.

Small neck-amphorae with double handles.

Nos. 1-8 form a special group: the mouth is concave, and the type is that of the Berlin painter's neck-amphora in Harvard (Hambidge, *Dynamic Symmetry*, p. 45 and frontispiece): red-figured

4. Altenburg, 207. Boar-hunt: on A a youth, and on B a man, attacking a boar.

5. Geneva, Dr. Hirsch, 191. Athletes: A, athlete with halteres between a flute-player and an athlete holding a pair of acontia: B, discus-thrower between an athlete and a youth.

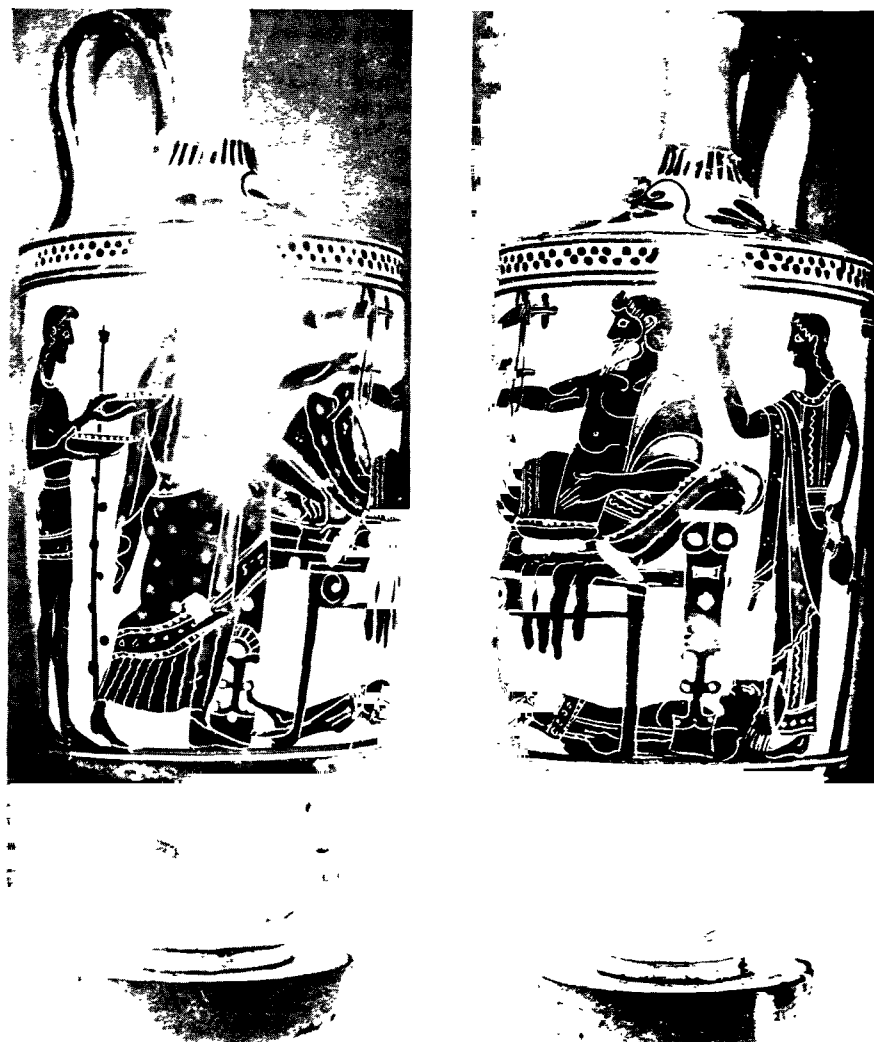


FIG. 6. WHITE LEKYTHOS IN EDINBURGH.

vases of this type run from 490 to 470 B.C., nor will our vases be earlier.

1. London, B 189. B, *A.J.A.* 1916, p. 454: *C.I.A.* B.M. III, H e, Pl. 45, 7.

2. London, B 188. A, *A.J.A.* 1916, p. 453: *C.I.A.* B.M. III, H e, Pl. 45, 10.

3. London, WT 220. *C.I.A.* B.M. III, H e, Pl. 45, 6.

6. Schwerin, 1264. A, Apollo and a goddess and Hermes: B, Dionysos and Hermes.

7. Berlin, 1838.

8. London, Parrish collection. On each side, Athena and a Giant.

9. Louvre, F 384. A, frontal chariot: B, frontal riders.

10. Castle Ashby. See above.

11. London, B 146. B. *J.H.S.* xxvii, p. 272.  
*C.J.A.* B.M. III. He, Pl. 6, 3.

Lekythoi.

(All but the first five are white-ground.)

12. London, 99. 2-18. 67. *J.H.S.* xxxi, p. 6,  
 Fig. 6. The death of Priam.

13. Athens, 15114. Frontal chariot.

14. Edinburgh, 1872, 23.12. Athena mount-  
 ing her chariot.

15. Athens, Acr. 2298. Graef and Langlotz,  
 Pl. 96. Procession in honour of Athena.

16. London, B 574. Warriors.

17. Athens, 1124. C.C. Pl. 37, No. 965.  
 Theseus and the Bull.

18. Syracuse, *Mon. Linc.* 17, Pl. 28. Theseus  
 and the Bull.

19. Syracuse, *Mon. Linc.* 17, Pl. 21, 1. Hera-  
 kles introduced into Olympus.

20. Edinburgh, L. 224. 379. Fig. 6. The  
 Ransom of Hector.

21. Oxford, 246. Dionysos in his chariot.

22. Berlin, 1999. Herakles and Geryon.

23. London, B 657. Arming.

24. London, B 642. Theseus and the Mino-  
 taur.

25. Louvre, CA 545. Heroes quarrelling.

26. Oxford, 248. Dionysos and maenads and  
 silens.

27. Basle, 1921, 337. Herakles and the Lion.

28. Athens, 966. *J.H.S.* xiii, Pl. 1, and pp.  
 2, 3. Odysseus and the Sirens.

29. Berlin, 1998. Gerhard, *A. V.* Pl. 326.  
 Wedded pair in chariot.

30. Athens, 550. Achilles brought to Chiron.

31. Athens, 1134. Apollo.

32. London, 1923, 4-20, 1. Herakles and  
 Cerberus.

33. London, B 640. Polyxena.

34. Carlsruhe, 185. Welter, Pl. 5. Dionysos  
 with silen and maenads.

White alabastron.

35. Athens, 4-8. Collignon and Couve,  
 Pl. 38, No. 1080. Dionysos with silen and  
 maenad.

19. Prize panathenaic amphora from Vulci.  
 (Pl. X., 1, 2.) A, Beazley, *Vases in Poland*,  
 Pl. 1, 2: B, small, *Mon.* 1, Pl. 22, 7. A, Athena:  
 B, foot-race. About 480-70 B.C. Froehner's  
 description in the 1888 catalogue seems to have  
 escaped Von Brauchitsch, for under No. 46 he  
 speaks of the vase, once in the Canino collection,  
 as having disappeared.<sup>1</sup> The foot, which is at  
 present let into a wooden block for stability, does  
 not come out well in the photograph: the lid  
 has been omitted because it is not certainly the  
 original lid, although it may conceivably have  
 served in antiquity.

In my *Vases in Poland*, I published the obverse  
 on the same plate as that of the prize vase in  
 Goluchow.<sup>2</sup> The two Athenas are clearly by the  
 same hand: they are not mechanical replicas,  
 and the costume is not quite the same: but look  
 at the outline of the body, the drawing of the  
 lower part of the chiton, the red belt, the shape  
 and decoration of the aegis with its hooked ticks  
 for scales, its three-line upper border, its svasticaed  
 shoulder-piece, its ropy, rigid snake-fringe, and  
 its big snake at the back of the neck; the shape  
 of the sleeve with its pattern of dotted crosses  
 and its engrailed edge towards the elbow, the  
 shield with its gorgoneion and its row of small,  
 close-set red spots on the rim; the long neck of  
 the goddess with an indented line for the neck-  
 lace, the long thick lock of hair hanging down  
 behind the ear; the shape of the cheekpieceless  
 helmet with the long neckpiece ending step-like  
 below, the thin curved stephane, the volute at the  
 base of the crest-holder, the long upright nose-  
 forehead line. Turn to the reverses: Goluchow  
 represents a horse-race, with boys up,<sup>3</sup> Castle

<sup>1</sup> *Die Panathenaischen Preisamphoren*, p. 38.

<sup>2</sup> *Vases in Poland*, Pl. 1. The ankles are the same shape in  
 Castle Ashby as in Goluchow, but the forward lines are faint

and do not come out in the photograph.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* Pl. 2

Ashby a foot-race for men. The style is the same: tall and elegant figures, easy and unviolent movements. The jockeys are younger than the runners, and on a smaller scale: but the drawing is the same: the single curved line for the sternomastoid, the gently-curving collarbone-line turning over a little at the end, the small waist, the form of the iliac furrow and of the part of the external oblique above it, the pair of arcs on the hip, the projecting knee with two lines bounding the knee-cap, the two lines on the distal side of the lower leg; the ankle in two lines, one touching or nearly the long line above it; two arcs on the upper arm; the elbow, when indicated, like the knee. The only difference is the marking between line and navel, but that can be understood: in Castle Ashby the area is precisely mapped out, as is usual in the period; in Goluchow the artist suggests the undecided aspect of the young boy's torso by a few transverse lines.

The pots themselves have the same proportions, and most of the details of the ornament tally—no red or incision in the neck-pattern, red shoulder-fillet, the alternate shoulder-tongues red, a red line above the base-rays. Castle Ashby has a red line at the outer edge of the mouth which I did not notice in Goluchow, and Goluchow a red line at the turn-down of the foot which I did not notice in Castle Ashby.

Two other panathenaic amphorae, as I observed in my Polish book,<sup>1</sup> one in the Vatican, with the youth's foot-race,<sup>2</sup> and the other in Berlin, with men sprinting,<sup>3</sup> are closely connected with these two, and by the same hand.

Professor Rumpf, who knew the Polish vase from the reproduction in a rare publication by Froehner, was struck by the resemblance to the work of a great red-figure artist, the so-called Berlin painter.<sup>4</sup> The same idea had occurred to me—first at Berlin, then at Goluchow—and was confirmed by my re-examination of the Castle Ashby vase. The two chief red-figure pot-painters in the late archaic period (as distinguished from cup-painters) were the Kleophrades painter and the Berlin painter. A noble group of late archaic prize-amphorae has already been associated with the Kleophrades painter;<sup>5</sup> and now we have found the Berlin painter's group.<sup>6</sup> It must belong to his later period: whether the four vases are from his own hand I doubt: for there are several renderings, constant in his red-figure work, which one would expect to find in his black-figure, even if he should have modified his renderings somewhat to suit the black-figure technique: but the spirit, the taste, the manner are his, and to his design the four vases will go back.

The black has flaked a bit in parts of the reverse, and been repainted, and the incisions are not all so clean as they were. I have drawn the man who is running fourth because on the whole he is the best-preserved of the four, and because his bald forehead is rather touching (Fig. 7).

The race is the dolichodromos and not the sprint:<sup>7</sup> let us hope that this is not the finish, but only the end of a lap.

20–22: Attic vases with both black-figure and red-figure pictures.

20. Black-figure and red-figure cup. I, black-

<sup>1</sup> *Vases in Poland*, pp. 6–8.

<sup>2</sup> *Mus. Greg.* 2, Pl. 43, 1; B. phot. Alinari 35871 = Licht, *Stranges Exh.*, i, p. 117.

<sup>3</sup> 1832: Gerhard, *Antike Bildwerk.*, Pl. 5–6, and *E.C.F.*, Pl. A, 11–12; a good photograph of B is now published in Schroder, *Die Sport in Athen*, Pl. 49, 2.

<sup>4</sup> *Göttergötter in Chios*, in *Göttergötter in Chios*, pp. 78–80, No. 17.

<sup>5</sup> New York 07.280.79 (detail of A. *Vase in Athens*, p. 44) was given to the Kleophrades painter by me, Munich 1456 (J. 656) by Langlotz. The following prize-amphorae are also by the Kleophrades painter: Madrid, 19020 (Leroux 70; Ossorio,

*Vase in Athens*, Pl. 25; New York, 16.71 (B. *Mus.*, Pl. 21, 10; A. Brondsted, Pl. 2; *Handbook of the Classical Collection*, 2, v. 93). Others belong at least to the same group: Louvre, E. 277 (B. Pottier, *Album*, Pl. 82; London, B. 131 (C. 10; B. M. III. He. Pl. 1, 2; Norwich, 2649; Cambridge, Corpus Christi. Among the inscriptionless fragments of panathenaic amphorae from the Acropolis of Athens, 9793 (Graef, Pl. 57), and 1048, 1049, and 1050 (all 1911, Pl. 62) are by the Kleophrades painter.

<sup>6</sup> On the Berlin painter, see below, p. 20.

<sup>7</sup> von Brauchitsch, p. 140.



figure, a cock and a plant (Pl. III., 5). A-B, red-figure: A, between eyes, a nose; B, the like. About 530 B.C.

The shape, in all essentials, is the normal shape of red-figure eye-cups (Caskey, *Geometry of Greek*

cohere. The hearts are reserved. White is used in the big eyes as well as red. The painter has thought it necessary to correct the noses by making them thinner.

The exquisite picture inside the cup finds an



FIG. 7. FROM A PANATHENAIIC AMPHORA IN CASILE ASHBY.

*Vases*, p. 176): but the side of the foot has two nicks in it, there is a reserved ring below the black fillet which separates stem from bowl, and if you look up the stem from below, you are rewarded by seeing a kind of nipple at the end. The underside of the foot is flat and reserved—as usual in the earliest red-figured eye-cups. Another early sign is that the petals of the handle-palmettes

earlier parallel on a little-master cup in the Vatican (Albizzati, *Vasi del Vaticano*, Pl. 34, No. 318).

21. Black-figure and red-figure cup. I, black-figure, a rider (Pl. III., 6). A-B, red-figure: A, between eyes, Dionysos (Pl. III., 4); B, between eyes, a silen fluting (Pl. III., 3). About 525 B.C.

The shape is that usual in red-figure eye-cups (Caskey, *Geometry*, p. 176). As in the last cup, the underside of the foot is reserved and flat, the petals are not separated, the hearts are reserved, and white is used in the oculi as well as red. On



FIG. 8. CUP IN LEIPSIC (I).

the red-figure side, the feet, and the silen's knees, have no relief-contour: the genitals, the inner part of the ear of Dionysos, and the knuckles of his left hand are in brown lines. The outline of

other, a fight. One may point to the drawing of the feet, of the closed hand, of the horn, of the piggy faces with long smiling mouths, of the trailing hither leg, of chiton and himation in the two figures of Dionysos. A third cup by the same hand is in Delos: on one half of the exterior a silen and a maenad, a fight on the other.<sup>2</sup> Let the artist be called the Delos painter.

22. Black-figure and red-figure cup, from Vulci. I, black-figure, Hermes running (Pl. V., 1): A-B, red-figure: A, between eyes, a Nereid (Pl. V., 2, 3); B, the like (Pl. V., 4). About 525 B.C.: by Olto (Vases in America, p. 10, No. 16; *Att. Vas.* p. 12, No. 17).

The shape is the normal red-figure eye-cup shape: the underside of the foot is no longer flat and reserved, as in the very earliest red-figure eye-cups, but curving and black, with a reserved offset edge, which protects the rest of the foot from scraping and scratching. The petals of the palmettes are not yet separated. Relief-line is used somewhat sparingly in the red-figure work: face, feet, knees and parts of the hands have no



FIG. 9. CUP IN LEIPSIC (A).

the hair is incised: the silen's tail is red, as well as the wreaths and leaves.

A red-figured cup in Leipsic, T 500, is by the same painter (Figs. 8-10).<sup>1</sup> Inside, a woman running with a flower in each hand; outside, on the one half, Dionysos seated, and a silen, wine-skin on back, bringing him a flower; on the



FIG. 10. CUP IN LEIPSIC (B).

relief-contour; in one Nereid the line of the mouth lacks relief as well as the profile; the inner markings of the ear are in brown. The outline of the hair is incised: white is used in the oculi: the dolphins, and the loops of the head-dresses, are red.

There are drawings of this excellent cup in

<sup>1</sup> Figured by kind permission of Prof. Studniczka.

<sup>2</sup> *Delos*, x. Pl. 53

the Berlin apparatus (xxi, 104, 1): it has recently been cleaned and has gained greatly. The pictures belong to the early and charming period of the painter's life.<sup>1</sup>

23-38: Attic red-figured vases.

23. Plate, painted and signed by Epiktetos. (Pl. IV., 4.) *Burlington Catalogue*, 1888, Pl. 19; small, *Burlington Catalogue*, 1903, Pl. 96, I 79; Hoppin, *R.f. Vases*, i. p. 306. A boy astride a cock. About 520-10 B.C. This is No. 32 in my earlier list of the painter's works (*Vases in America*, p. 17), and No. 41 in my later (*Att. Vas.* p. 27).

<sup>1</sup> A list of vases by Oltos is given in *Att. Vas.* pp. 10-17 and 467. My No. 23 is in Providence and my No. 63 in Heidelberg. Details of my No. 1, Louvre G 3, are given in Jacobsthal, *Ornamente d. Vasen*, Pl. 44, b-c, and Pl. 45, b: of No. 2, Louvre G 2, *ibid.* Pl. 44, a, and Pl. 45, a: there are good photographs of the whole vase, and of details, by Giraudon. My No. 3, the London amphora, is published in *C.F.A.* III, 1 c, Pl. 5, 1: my No. 4, *ibid.* Pl. 19, 1, and side-views in Jacobsthal, Pl. 91: details of No. 5, the New York psykter, in Alexander, *Greek Athletics*, pp. 10; 15, 1: and 31, 2: the Eleusis plate, mentioned on my p. 467, in *Delton*, 9, p. 4: No. 20, Oxford, 515, in *C.F.A.* Oxford, Pl. 1, 1, and Pl. 5, 1-2: No. 36, Oxford, 516, *ibid.* Pl. 1, 2, and Pl. 5, 3-4: the palmettes of No. 38, B.M. E 17, in Jacobsthal, Pl. 72, c: part of my No. 45, the Copenhagen cup, in Poulsen, *Aus einer alten Etruskerstadt*, Pl. 4, 2: No. 51, the Orvieto cup, in photographs by Armoni, one of which is reproduced in *Mem. Amer. Acad.* 6, Pl. 17, 3: No. 53, Florence, 81601, in *Mon. Linc.* 30, Pl. 2: No. 54, the Brussels cup, in *C.F.A.* Brussels, III, 1 c, Pl. 2, 2: the interior of No. 60, Berlin, 4221, in Licht, *Sittengeschichte*, ii, p. 145, and in Schröder, *Der Sport im Altertum*, Pl. 14, 1: No. 67 in Vorberg, *Ars erotica veterum*, Pl. 22: No. 81, the Oxford fragment, in *C.F.A.* Oxford, Pl. 14, 3. Add an eye-cup in the Vatican (*Mus. Greg.* ii, Pl. 69, 2: phot. A. Alinari, 35782), a fragment of another in Adria (B 503: A, Warrior), and perhaps a third, from Nepi, in the Villa Giulia (I, bf., Dionysos: A, maenad; B, the like): and add cups in the Louvre (F 128: Pottier, Pl. 73), in Copenhagen, Ny-Carlsberg (Poulsen, *Aus einer alten Etruskerstadt*, Pl. 4, 1, and Pl. 5), in Oxford (1927, 4065: I, naked woman with cup and ladle: A-B, Theseus carrying off Antiope), in the Villa Giulia (Castellani collection: I, man with oinochoe: A, Herakles and the Hydra; B, between pegasi, Dionysos and Giant): and cup-fragments in Athens (Acr. A 118: I, two heads facing: belongs to A 145, my No. 33?), in the Louvre (G 94<sup>2</sup>: I, mounted Amazon), in Leipsic (A, head and shoulders of a woman to left), in the Campana collection in the Museum of Florence (I, maenad), in the same collection (A, silens and maenads): fragments of a vase in Athens (Acr. F 88: women): probably also a cup in the Vatican (Herakles), a fragment of a plate in Athens

The signature is ΕΠΙΚΤΕΤΟΣΕΛΡΑΣΘΕΝ. Epiktetos often writes *εγρασθεν* for *εγραψεν* in his early days.<sup>2</sup>

There is no relief-line between nose and chin, and none for the knee or the front part of the right foot. The inner lines of the ear are brown, as usual in early works of Epiktetos. The plate was broken in half: the break runs down through the left arm and has been painted over, so that most of the lower folds of the chiton, part of the left forearm and part of the cock's back-feathers, are modern.<sup>3</sup>

24. Cup from Vulci, with the signature of the

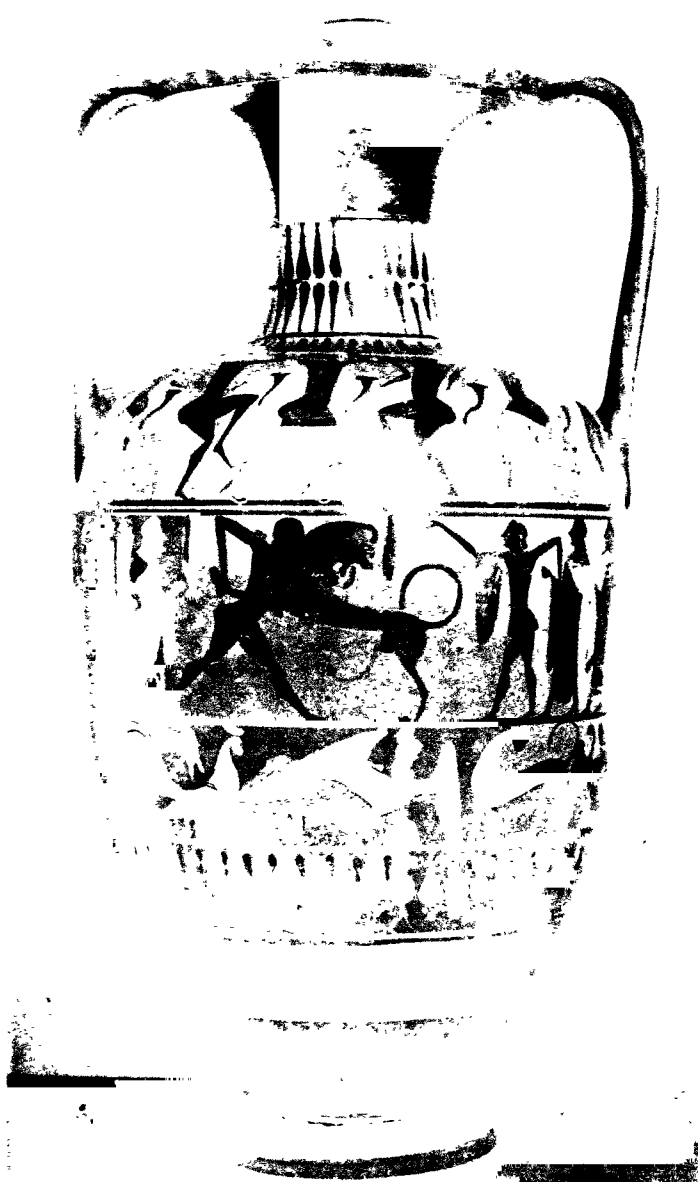
(Acr. B 1: Athena), a vase-fragment in the Villa Giulia (Vorberg, 1916, p. 84): in his very manner, but not from his own hand, is a cup in the Hearst collection (*Cat. Scripps*, July 5, 1928, frontispiece, and plate at p. 6, below, No. 19). There are several black-figure cup-interiors, or fragments of such, which must come from Oltan cups using both techniques: such is a fragment, with Poseidon, in Heidelberg, and another, with a youth holding a flute, in the Campana collection in Florence: in the same collection are fragments of an eye-cup in the same style, with a black-figure Apollo inside, and outside, red-figure, a view of Delos—a palm tree, and an altar with incense on it. Hartwig had in his possession fragments of a cup with a black-figure Poseidon inside, and outside, red-figure, a monstrous phallus between eyes. The phallus fragments are in Boston: is the Poseidon that in Heidelberg? For other additions to the work of Oltos, see Kraiker's forthcoming Heidelberg catalogue.

On p. 13 of my *Att. Vas.* a heading has slipped out between Nos. 26 and 27: No. 26 is the last eye-cup, the next are ordinary cups.

<sup>2</sup> In *Att. Vas.* p. 27, *εγρασθεν* is misprinted for *εγραψεν* in Nos. 41, 42, 43.

<sup>3</sup> A list of works by Epiktetos is given in *Att. Vas.* pp. 24-9 and 467. No. 24 in my list, the Petrograd milesiazusa, is now published by Vorberg, *Ars Erotica Veterum*, Pl. 21, No. 36, the Oxford kotyle, in *C.F.A.* Oxford, Pl. 41, 9-10, and part of No. 37, the kotyle in Naples, by Licht, *Sittengeschichte*, iii, p. 213. Of Nos. 28 and 33, the cup-fragments in the Cabinet des Médailles, and of the exterior of No. 8, Louvre G 6, there are now photographs by Giraudon. The palmettes of No. 7, B.M. E 38, are given in Jacobsthal, Pl. 71, a, and those of No. 10, B.M. E 37, *ibid.* Pl. 72, d.

The cups which I put together in *Att. Vas.* pp. 28-9, and described as in the manner of Epiktetos, are from his own hand: I ought to have stated that No. 4 was first assigned to him by Langlotz. Also by Epiktetos: fragment of an eye-cup in Florence, Campana collection (A, Herakles with one of the horses of Diomedes); another cup-fragment in the same collection (A, sacrifice: two youths side by side holding spitfuls of meat); cups in Boston (01.8074: archer), Baltimore (7.H.S.



2

3

CASTLE ASHBY  
1 AND 3. CLAZOMENIAN NECK-AMPHORA. 2. ATTIC NECK-AMPHORA





2



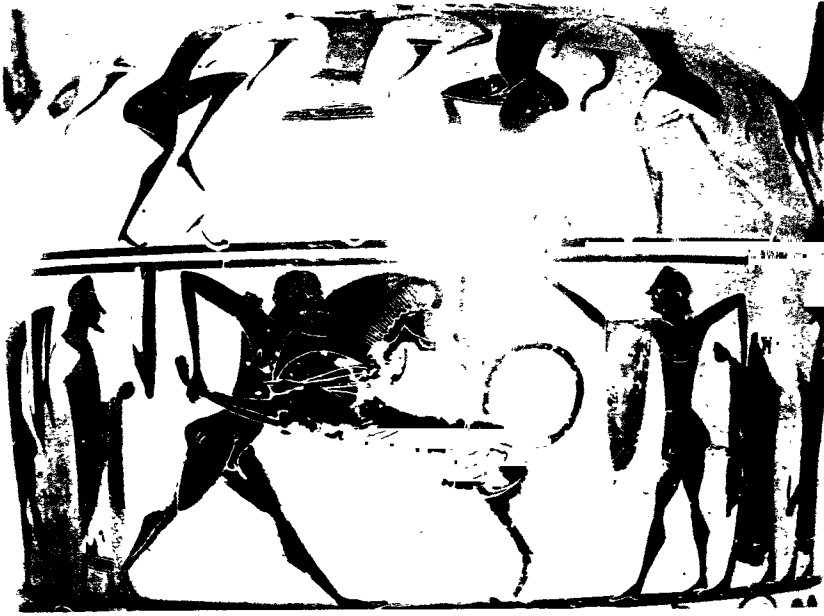
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3

CASTLE ASHBY  
1-3. NECK-AMPHORA BY THE AMASIS PAINTER. 4. CLAZOMENIAN NECK-AMPHORA





1



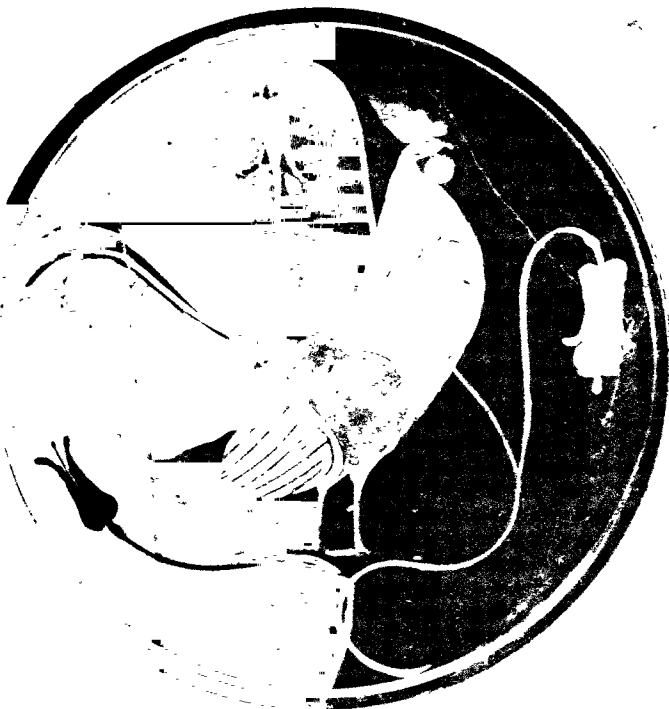
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5



6

CASTLE ASHBY

1. NECK-AMPHORA. 2. CYATHOS 3. 4. AND 6 CUP. 5. CUP







1



2



3



4

1-2. NECK-AMPHORA 3 CUP BY THE EUERGIDES PAINTER. 4. PLATE BY EPIKTETOS

CASTLE ASHBY





CASTLE ASHBY  
CUP BY OLTOS







CASTLE ASHBY  
CUP BY THE NIKOSTHENES PAINTER





1



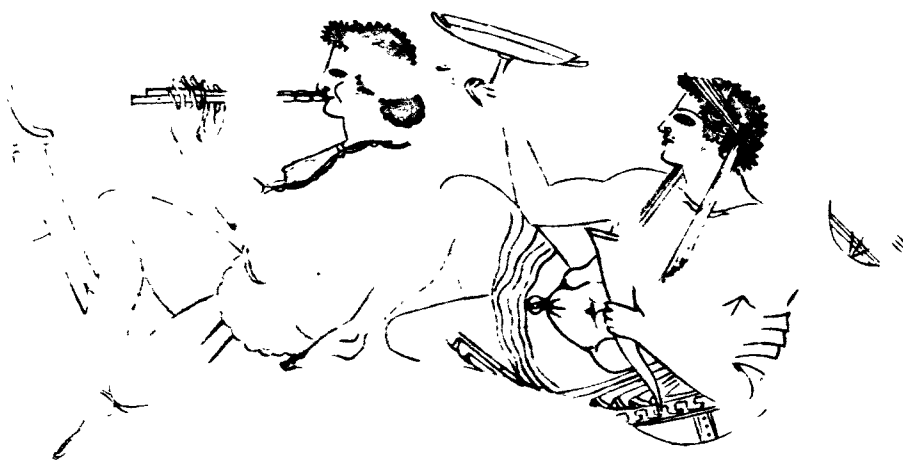
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2



5



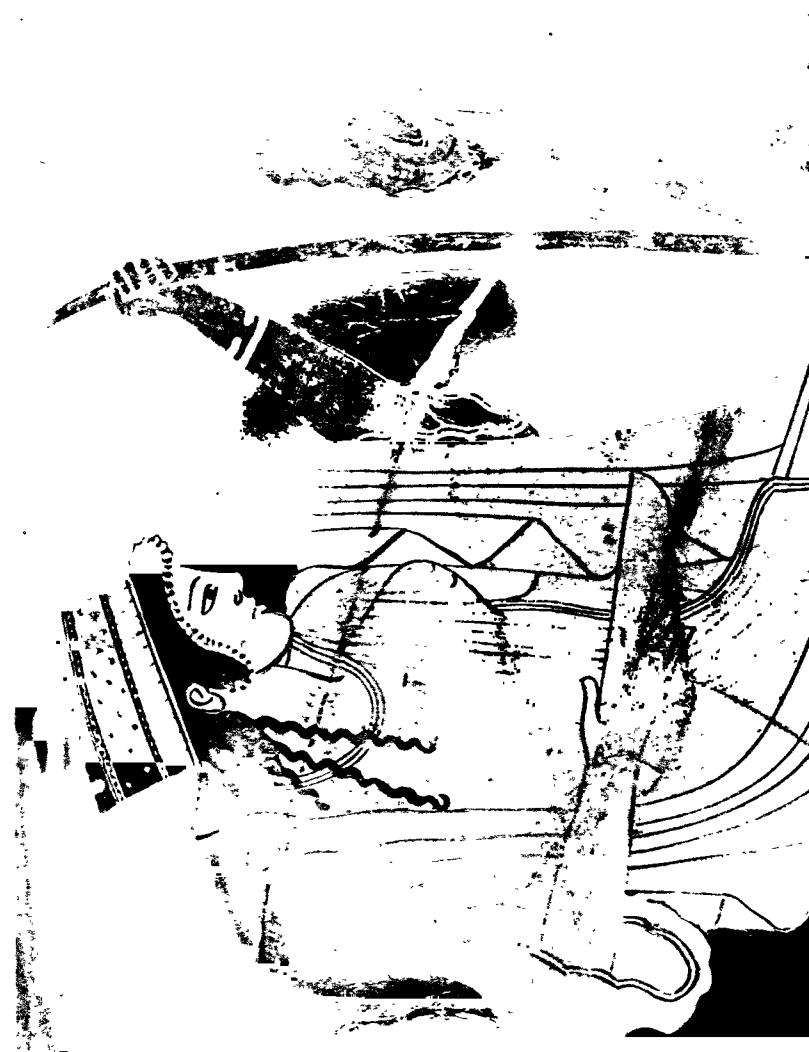
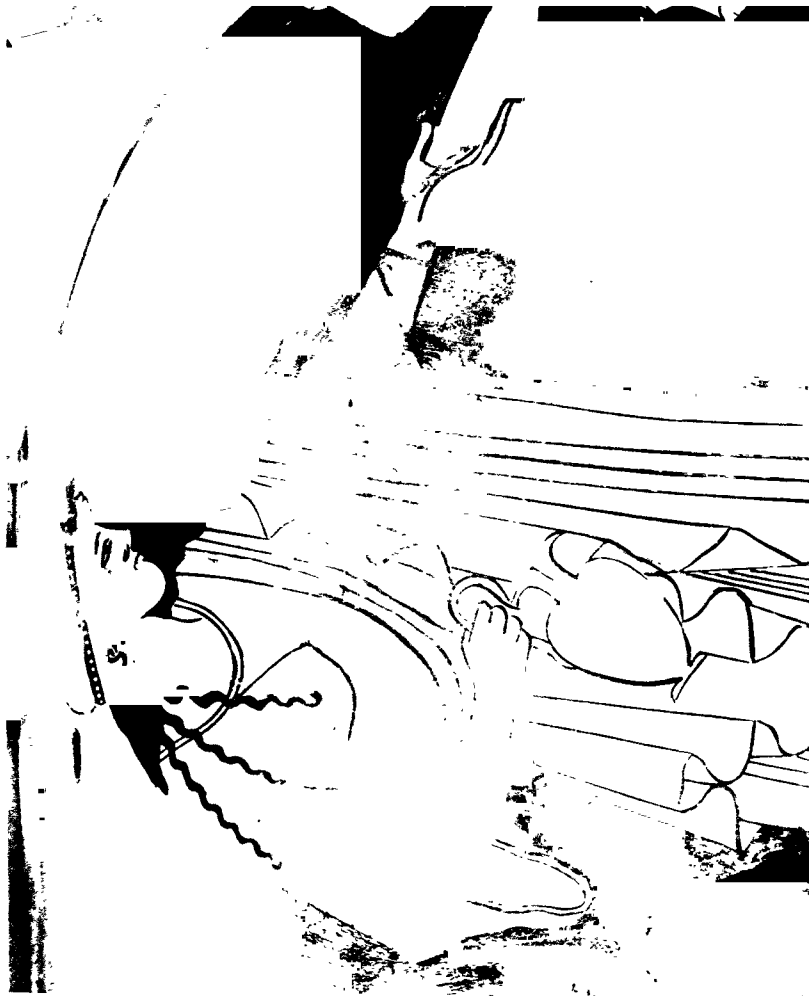
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CASTLE ASHBY

1-3. CUP BY THE CASTLE ASHBY PAINTER. 4. CUP BY THE NIKOSTHENES PAINTER  
5. FROM A STAMNOS BY THE BERLIN PAINTER







CASTLE ASHBY  
STAMNOS BY THE BERLIN PAINTER





1



2



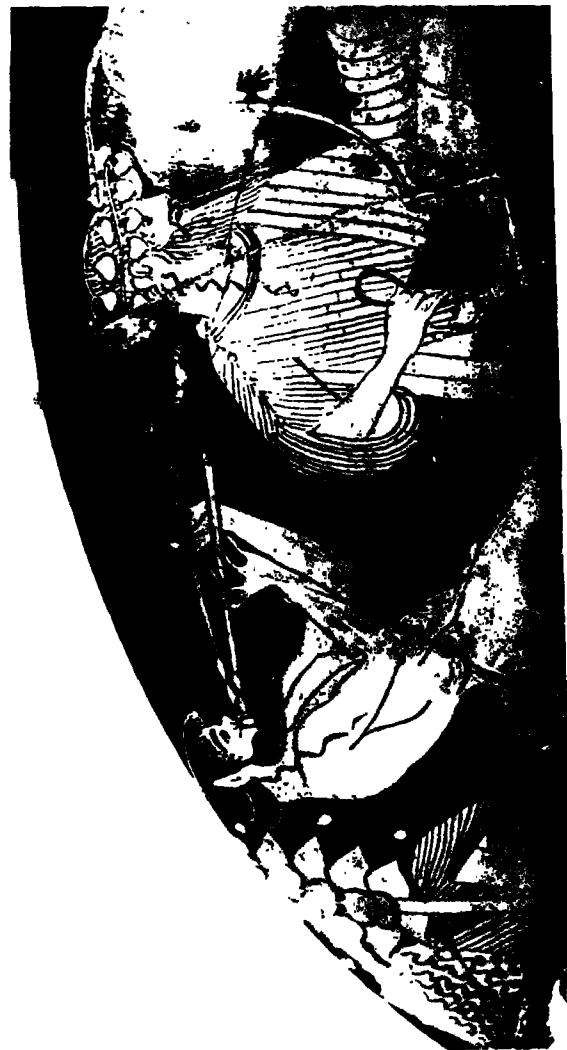
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4

CASTLE ASHBY  
1. STAMNOS BY THE BERLIN PAINTER. 2. STAMNOS BY THE BERLIN PAINTER  
3-4. CUP BY THE ERETRIA PAINTER





3



2



4

CASTLE ASHBY  
1. 2. PANATHENAIC AMPHORA 3. 4. FRAGMENT OF A CUP BY THE BRYGOS PAINTER





1



2



3



4

CASTLE ASHBY  
1. PANATHENAIC AMPHORA. 2. CUP BY THE ERETRIA PAINTER  
3 AND 4. APULIAN OINOCHOE





maker Pamphaios. Panofka, *Pamphaios*, Pl. 2 = Hoppin, *R.f. Vases*, ii. p. 285; *Burlington Catalogue*, 1903, Pl. 96, I 65. I, a silen running with wineskin and horn (Pl. VII., 2). A-B, arming (Pl. VI.): at the handles, winged horses (Fig. 11). On I, ΠΑ(Ν)ΘΑ(ΙΟ)ΣΕΠΟΙΕΣΕΝ. On A, ΗΟΠΑΙΣΚΑΛΟΣ, on B the same. About 520 B.C.: by the Nikosthenes painter (*Att. Vas.* p. 44, No. 12).

The shape is the usual red-figure cup-shape,



FIG. 11. FROM A CUP IN CASTLE ASHBY.

but the fillet between stem and foot is black, with a reserved line above it. The lozenge-pattern on the exterior is a rare one: it is used in another work by the same painter, the cup with the signature of Pamphaios in the Stieglitz Museum at Petrograd, No. 13 in my list, and in two small cup-fragments which are at least of the same period, one in the University of Berlin (A, a foot, and remains of palmettes), the other in the Acropolis collection at Athens (B 194: A, a horse's foot?). The exterior is composed not in halves but in quarters: twice, a figure-scene; twice, a handle between two pegasi. The interior has been mended a good deal: our drawing gives the ancient parts (Pl. 7, 2). The only troublesome repaint outside is that which has corroded the left leg of the youth with the greave. The outline of the hair is incised throughout.

This is one of the painter's earlier works: the little youths on the exterior are just like those who stand or run or bend between the eyes on eye-cups.<sup>1</sup> On the custom of putting animals at the handles, see Jacobsthal, *Ornamente gr. Vasen*, pp. 115-17.

25. Cup. I (Pl. IV., 3), a naked youth with

xii. p. 347: inscription εποισεν), Berlin (inv. 4514: silen: inscription, complete, επζηφσεν), and the Gallatin collection (warrior running: inscription εποισεν: the attribution made by the owner), and a cup-fragment in the Acropolis collection at Athens (A 36: I, maenad): and a mug or 'oinochoe shape viii' in the Faina collection at Orvieto (148: silens reclining: see text to *C.J.A.* Oxford, Pl. 41, 9-10). Finally, four little boxes (pyxis type D) are probably by Epiktetos: two with the love-name Thaliarchos—one in the Petit Palais at Paris (Klein, *Liebblingsinschriften*, p. 88: helmet-maker), one in Athens (Acr. F 31: silen), and two with the love-name Lysikles—one in Athens (1710: Heydemann, *C.J.* Pl. 4, 2; Klein, *Euphronios*, p. 313), one in New York (squatting silen). See also Kraiker's forthcoming Heidelberg catalogue.

<sup>1</sup> I have twice discussed the red-figure vases with the signature of Pamphaios (*Vases in America*, pp. 23-4: *Att. Vas.* pp. 42-5 and 468): but since my first account, though crystal-clear, has been misunderstood both by Dr. Hoppin (*R.f. Vases*, ii. pp. 277-8) and by Dr. Luce (*A.J.A.* 1925, pp. 47-9), and as Dr. Luce makes me feel guilty by applauding me for views which I have never held, I may be allowed to return for a moment to the subject.

A list of the red-figure vases with the signature of Pamphaios is given by Hoppin (*R.f. Vases*, ii. pp. 278-307 and *B.f. Vases*,

pp. 469-71). His No. 5 is now in Boston. His No. 23 is to be cut out, since there is no reason to suppose that it was signed, and his No. 11, which he follows Cecil Smith in describing as a stamnos-foot, but which is really the foot of a black-figured cup. The 'cup-feet' Nos. 14 bis and 24 I do not know, nor the lost cups 15, 21, 22. We must add small fragments of an eye-cup in the Campana collection at Florence (A, between eyes, the arm and sleeve of a woman moving to right: between one eye and its brow, ΠΑΝΘΑΙΟΣ, between the other, ΕΠ . . .), and a cup in the Louvre (CA 2526: athlete with halteres: ΠΑΝΘΑΙΟΣΕΣΕΝ). The rest split up into four groups: (i) No. 3, the very early eye-cup in Bonn: I cannot point to any other vases by the same hand: (ii) the two cups 25 and 25 bis, painted and signed by Epiktetos: (iii) the two Nikosthenic neck-amphorae, Louvre G 3 and G 2 (Nos. 17 and 16) and the London stamnos, E 437 (No. 10)—painted by Oltos: (iv) all the rest. The orthography varies with the group: Oltos writes Πανφαίος (Hoppin gives Panphaios for G 2, but that is an error): Epiktetos *Pamaphios*, just as for years he wrote *egrasphen*: while in the fourth group the spelling is Panphaios or nearly that.

Some vases in group (iv) are so like one another that they must be assigned to a single hand: the painter did work for Nikosthenes as well as for Pamphaios, and I have called him the

his arms in a bell-krater: no doubt filling a cup: a cup-fragment by the same painter in Leipsic has a similar figure in a cup-filling scene.<sup>1</sup> A (Fig. 12), two youths leading a horse; one holding the reins, the other showing the way. B (Fig. 13), a fight. About 520-10 B.C.: by the Euergides painter (*Vases in America*, p. 19; *Att. Vas.* p. 33, No. 26), one of his more summary works.<sup>2</sup> On I, ΚΑΛΟΣ, on A, ΗΟΡΑΙΣΚΑΛΟΣ, on B the same.



FIG. 12. CUP IN CASTLE ASHBY (A).



FIG. 13. CUP IN CASTLE ASHBY (B).

Nikosthenes painter: a list of his vases is given in *Att. Vas.* pp. 42-5 and 468.

The other cups in group (iv) are all connected more or less closely with the Nikosthenes painter.

One or two additions should be made to the works of the Nikosthenes painter. The chief of these is a pretty eye-cup recently acquired by Cambridge (*Cat. Sotheby*, June 21st, 1926, Pl. 2: I, symposion: a man drinking: A, acontist: B, athlete lifting halteres): this must be earlier than any of the vases in my list. The Florence fragments with the signature of Pamphaios, mentioned above, go pretty well with the Cambridge cup: but there is so little left that one cannot be sure how close the resemblance was. Another early work is a cup in Vienna (inv. 137: Laborde, ii, suppl., Pls. 3-4; von Lucken, Pl. 78, 2, and Pls. 78-9: the palmettes, Jacobsthal, Pl. 72, b): this takes with it, I think, a cup in the Kunstgewerbe Museum at Leipsic (I, silen with pelta: A-B, athletes). Also by the Nikosthenes painter, and very like the Odysseus cup, signed Pamphaios, in the Villa Giulia, is a cup in Washington (I, warrior running). A, Athena mounting chariot: B, chariot of Dionysos, and silens: mentioned by Furtwängler, *Neue Denkmäler*, iii, p. 250: photographs in Heidelberg). A kotyle in the Louvre (G 66: Pottier, *Album*, Pl. 96: gigantomachy) is in the manner of the Nikosthenes painter. Of the vases in my list, No. 5, the pyxis signed Nikosthenes in the Villa Giulia, is figured in *Studi Etruschi*, i, Pl. 35, 1, No. 7, the Villa Giulia cup, in *C.F.A.* V.G. III, 1 c, Pl. 24, Pl. 25, 2-3, and Pl. 26, 2, the interior of No. 9, the London milesiazusa, in Licht, *Sittengeschichte*, iii, p. 201, and part of No. 3, the erotic kantharos in Boston, *ibid.* p. 91.

The stem is stoutish. On I, no relief-line between nose-tip and under-chin-line: the inner line of the ear brown: the hair edged by a relief-line below, and by a pair of them against the background.

26. Cup, from Camposcala. *A.Z.* 1885, Pl. 17. I, trumpeter (Pl. VII., 1). A-B, symposion (Pl. VII., 3, 4). About 500 B.C.: by the Castle Ashby painter.

<sup>1</sup> T 405: No. 37 in my list of his works.

<sup>2</sup> A list of vases by the Euergides painter is given in *Att. Vas.* pp. 30-7 and pp. 467-8: see also text to *C.F.A.* Oxford, Pl. 14, 21. The Leipsic fragment No. 42 in my list is to be deleted. The Khalebldjian cup mentioned on p. 467 is now in Mr. Gallatin's collection. Add a cup in the Villa Giulia (26039: *C.F.A.* Villa Giulia III, 1 c, Pl. 28), a cup which was formerly in the Spagna collection at Rome (drawing in the Berlin apparatus, xvi, 95: described in *A.J.A.* 1927, p. 347), and cup-fragments or fragmentary cups in Tübingen (E 41: Watzinger, *Vasen in Tübingen*, Pl. 21), Boston (*Bulletin M.F.A.* 9, p. 54; Sudhoff, *Aus dem antiken Badewesen*, ii, p. 37), Athens (Acr. A 191: A, a male lifting the leg of another), and in Oxford (A-B, komos). My No. 44, the cup-fragment Heidelberg B 46, fits on to the fragment Tübingen E 38 (Watzinger, Pl. 20). Other additions will be made in Kraiker's Heidelberg catalogue.

The palmettes of my No. 1, the London signed cup, are now published in Jacobsthal, Pl. 71, c: of my No. 5, Munich 2605, *ibid.* Pl. 70, b: of my No. 10, London E 9, *ibid.* Pl. 71, d: of my No. 22, London E 21, *ibid.* Pl. 70, c-d.

My No. 16, Louvre G 22, is probably not by the Euergides painter himself, but a school-piece: and so is the Richmond cup No. 81, which is by the same hand as Tübingen E 34 (Watzinger, Pl. 19), attributed by Watzinger to a follower of the Euergides painter: a third work of the same is a cup-fragment in Adria (I, naked youth with a large kotyle). Other school-pieces are Petrograd 648 (I, a youth running with a wineskin) and Athens 1656 (the same subject). No. 7 in my Prosagoreuo

The stem is stoutish, the fillet between stem and foot larger than usual. The cup has suffered from repainting: the new drawing gives only what is ancient: more must be lurking under the repaint. The old drawing does not distinguish modern from ancient, and omits much that is sound, in particular some of the brown inner markings.

The picture inside the cup represents a young warrior, wearing helmet, greaves and pelta, not sounding the command, for in that case the trumpet would be raised; but blowing down the trumpet to test it.<sup>1</sup> This belongs to the same class of representations as musicians tuning the lyre (not playing it), or archers glancing down the arrow to see if it is straight.

Outside, a symposion. A youth, and a flute-girl, in either half. In one half, the youth holds a cup in one hand and a horn in the other, and the girl plays the flute: in the other, the youth holds the girl's flute for her while she binds her head; and buries his face in a big drinking-bowl: the outline of his cheeks and chin is nevertheless visible, done in brown. Palmettes at the handles.

The cup has been attributed to Euphronios, but without reason:<sup>2</sup> in my *Attische Vasenmaler*<sup>3</sup> I grouped it with two other cups and a cup-fragment, and called the painter of the four 'the painter of the Castle Ashby cup.' Our cup is the earliest, was probably painted before the end of the sixth century, and is still under the influence of Euthymides. A fifth work of the Castle Ashby painter belongs to this period, a cup-fragment, with the upper part of a naked youth on it, facing left, in Athens, Acropolis collection A 92.

27. Fragment of a cup painted and signed by Apollodoros: No. 1 in Hartwig's list of his works (*Meisterschalen*, pp. 690 and 628-30), No. 2

in mine (*Att. V.* pp. 52-3 and 468). About 500-490 B.C. Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, Pl. 69, 1; after Hartwig, but spoilt by retouching, Hoppin, *R.f. Vases*, i. p. 45. The subject is a fight: whether the figure is a youth, as Furtwängler says, or Athena, as Hartwig, I am not sure.

The inscriptions are Η . . . on the shield-rim and in the field . . . ΟΔΟΡΟΣ ΕΛΑΡΑΦΕΝ. The restoration of the name is made certain, as Hartwig showed (*Meisterschalen*, pp. 628-30), by the inscription ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔ . . . on a fragmentary cup in the Louvre of exactly the same style as ours. The name Apollodoros occurs on two other vases: to the red-figured cup-fragment in Adria, where it is used as a love-name (Klein, *Lieblingsinschriften*, p. 105; Schoene, *Museo Bocchi*, Pl. 12, 14), we may add tiny fragments of an archaic red-figured cup in Leipzig: all that remains is part of the line-border inside the cup, a bit of a wing, and the letters ΑΠΟΛΟΔ . . .<sup>4</sup>

Hoppin's account of the Castle Ashby fragment is confusion: see on the next number.

28. Fragment of a cup. Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, Pl. 33, 2. A. Dionysos with silens and maenads (Pl. X., 3). About 490-80 B.C. This beautiful fragment was assigned to the Brygos painter by Furtwängler (*A.Z.* 1881, p. 302): it is No. 9 in Hartwig's list of the painter's works (*Meisterschalen*, pp. 687 and 314-6) and No. 14 in mine (*Att. Vas.* p. 177).

Dionysos is seated in the midst, holding a kantharos and a vine; a satyr, wineskin on shoulder, hastens up to fill the kantharos; behind the god, a second satyr plays the flute; to the right, a maenad approaches with snake and thyrsus: this completed the picture rightwards, for there are traces of the handle. To the left is part of another maenad, who looks round away

group (*Att. Vas.* p. 37), the Brussels cup, is now published in Vorberg, *Ars Erotica Veterum*, Pl. 19, and No. 8 in *C.F.A.* Gallatin, Pl. 9, 2. Of the Paidikos group (*Att. Vas.* pp. 35-6 and pp. 467-8), No. 6 is now published in *C.F.A.* Oxford, Pl. 41, 3-4; No. 9, *ibid.*, 1-2; No. 10 in *C.F.A.* Gallatin, Pl. 9, 1 and 3; No. 12, *ibid.*, Pl. 9, 4 and 6; No. 14, *ibid.*, Pl. 27, 6 and 8. Add an alabastron formerly in the Barclay collection (a youth and a woman: on the bottom, in silhouette, a man with a cloak), and,

as Watzinger has seen, a white alabastron in Tübingen (E 48: Watzinger, Pl. 21).

<sup>1</sup> Furtwängler in *F.R.* ii. p. 112: on trumpeters see also Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, pp. 276-7 and 635.

<sup>2</sup> Wernicke in *A.Z.*, 1885, pp. 256-8. <sup>3</sup> p. 54, below.

<sup>4</sup> A list of vases by Apollodoros is given in *Att. Vas.* pp. 52-3 and 468: my No. 9, the Oxford cup, is now republished in *C.F.A.* Oxford, Pl. 1, 7.

from the god, I dare say towards a third satyr who would complete the picture on the left. The drawing in Hartwig, which I suppose is by Anderson, is a good one: but it omits the cheek-line of the cup-bearer. The inscription—the letters Λ—is right in the drawing, but wrong in Furtwängler and Hartwig, who read  $\mu\alpha\iota$ .<sup>1</sup>

Furtwängler, in his haste, took the fragment to be from the same cup as the Apollodoros fragment, and drew the conclusion that the name of the Brygos painter ended in . . . odoros. This error has long since been corrected, and I should not mention it had it not been repeated by Hoppin (*R.f. Vases*, i. p. 45): Hoppin copies Klein (*Meistersignaturen*, p. 218); who copies Furtwängler, without observing that Hartwig had exposed the error in his *Meisterschalen* (pp. 314–15).

29. Stamnos. (Pl. VIII., 1–4; Pl. IX., 1;

Fig. 14). I published the middle figure on B in the *Burlington Magazine*, 28, Pl. p. 138, G. A, Athena between Zeus and Hera. B, a warrior leaving home. About 490 B.C.: by the Berlin painter (*ibid.* p. 138; *Vases in America*, p. 40; *J.H.S.* xlii, p. 95, No. 81; *Att. Vas.* p. 83, No. 85).<sup>2</sup>

Mouth and foot are the same as in the Louvre stamnos G 186 (which is by the same painter): except that the foot lips a little near the top. The side of the foot is black. The tongue-pattern usual above the pictures in stamnoi is omitted, as in many of the Berlin painter's stamnoi: he likes cutting down the pattern-work. There is not much relief-contour: for instance, the faces have none except the chins; in Athena, and the woman on the reverse, the horizontal line of the mouth has relief, in the other figures not. The lines on Hera's ankle

<sup>1</sup> A list of vases by the Brygos painter is given in *Att. Vas.* pp. 175–86 and 473–4: additions in *Vases in Poland*, pp. 21–3. My No. 62, the Preyss cup, is now published in Bieber, *Griechische Kleidung*, Pl. 8, 1 and the Providence lekythos mentioned at the top of my p. 474, in *A.J.A.* 1928, pp. 53–4. The cup in Toronto, *A.J.A.* 1928, pp. 33–40, is not Brygos but Macronian.

<sup>2</sup> A list of vases by the Berlin painter is given in *Att. Vas.* pp. 76–88 and 469. No. 119 is now in Philadelphia, No. 32, as Mr. Humfry Payne tells me, in Boulogne: it is not an ordinary Nolan amphora, but a vase of the same type as my Nos. 31, 31a and 31b (*Att. V.* pp. 79 and 469). Part of No. 13, the panathenaic amphora in Florence, is published in Poulsen, *Etruskerstadt*, Pl. 8; the London neck-amphorae, my Nos. 18, 21, 24, and 25, in *C.I.A.* B.M. III. 1 c, Pl. 8, 3; Pl. 9, 2, and Pl. 10, 2; Pl. 9, 3, and Pl. 10, 3; and Pl. 9, 1, and Pl. 10, 1; a detail of No. 29 bis (Vienna 741: mentioned on my p. 469) in Bieber, *Gr. Kleidung*, Pl. 17, 3; No. 30, Oxford 274, in *C.I.A.* Oxford, Pl. 15, 1–2; No. 31 bis, the Oxford neck-amphora with triple handles, *ibid.* Pl. 15, 3–4; No. 42, the Nolan amphora in Dresden, in Walther Müller, *Die griechische Kunst*, p. 135, 3 (small photograph of A only: foot and neck-pattern are modern); No. 53, B.M. E 313, in Cook, *Zeus* ii. Pl. 1; No. 61, Oxford 275, in *C.I.A.* Oxford, Pl. 17, 7, and Pl. 18, 3; No. 70, Oxford 291, *ibid.* Pl. 21, 3, and Pl. 12, 6; the Louvre stamnoi Nos. 82, 84, 86, and 98 in photographs by Giraudon; No. 87, the Oxford stamnos, in *C.I.A.* Oxford, Pl. 25, 1–2, Pl. 20, 10–12, and Pl. 30, 5–6; No. 132 Oxford 323, *ibid.* Pl. 35, 3–4; No. 92, London E 444, in *C.I.A.* B.M. III. 1 c, Pl. 21, 4; No. 3 on p. 87, London E 445, *ibid.* Pl. 21, 5; No. 136, the New York oinochoe, in *A.J.A.* 1926, p. 37.

Add a neck-amphora with twisted handles until recently in the Holford collection at Dorchester House (on each side an

Amazon), a smaller neck-amphora with twisted handles in the Hall collection at Tynemouth (A, Nike with torches, B, youth: 'school-piece'), a Nolan amphora in Zurich (A, Apollo pursuing B, a woman: 'school-piece'), another in Basle (1906, 297: Zeus pursuing B, a woman: 'school-piece'), a third in the Paris market (Feuardent: A, Triptolemos; B, Demeter: 'school-piece'); hydria in Oxford (1927, 4502: Europa), in Copenhagen, Ny-Carlsberg (Poulsen, *Etruskerstadt*, Pls 6–7), and in the Holford collection (citharode and listeners), fragments of one in the Campana collection in Florence (a god and a woman at an altar) and of another in Eleusis (upper part of a man moving to right, with a cup in his left hand: a recent discovery); a lekythos in Copenhagen, Ny-Carlsberg (Poulsen, *Etruskerstadt*, Pl. 9), and a fragment of another in Corinth (Athena: attributed by Payne); fragments in Frankfurt (Liebighaus 128: left arm of warrior with shield, and part of another figure), in Freiburg (part of a chiton), of two vases in Leipsic (middle of a naked youth to left: a bit of drapery), and of several in the Campana collection at Florence (middle of male in himation with stick, to left: knees and thighs of a warrior: middle of a rider with the hindquarters of his horse: middle of a male in himation to right: middle of Zeus and Ganymede). In *Att. Vas.* p. 471 I said that the vases which I had grouped under the heading 'Nereus painter' would probably turn out to be not merely akin to the work of the Berlin painter, but actually from his hand: study of the Aberdeen hydria has convinced me that I was right. Add, therefore, to the work of the Berlin painter the five vases mentioned under 'Nereus painter' in *Att. Vas.* pp. 121–2. Lastly, a fragment, with part of a human foot, in the Cabinet des Médailles, belongs to the same vase as 386, my No. 8. See also forthcoming monograph *Der Berliner Maler*.

are brown; the jug is browned over. The preservation is good; the repainting at the breaks is trifling, and obvious in the photograph. On the reverse, the upper part of the seated man is modern, and a bit of the shield (Fig. 14).

The relation between the goddess of Athens and the chief of the gods is well expressed: Athena is serving her father and his consort, yet it is Athena who dominates the picture. The compositional scheme, a standing figure between



FIG. 14. FROM A STAMNOS IN CASTLE ASHBY.

two seated, has been discussed by Studniczka (*Fahrbuch* 26, pp. 159-61: see also text to *C.I.A.* Oxford, III. 1, Pl. 49, 5).

Under the foot, the graffito  $\alpha\pi$ , ligature of  $\alpha\pi\iota$ , probably the beginning of an  $\alpha\pi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron$ -name: the same, or nearly, on three other vases by this painter, the stamnoi Nos. 81 and 84 in my list, and the volute-krater No. 78.

30. Stamnos. (Pl. 9, 2; Pl. 7, 5; Fig. 15). Dionysos with silens and maenads. About 490-80 B.C.: by the Berlin painter (*Vases in America*, p. 40: *J.H.S.* xlii, p. 95, No. 85: *Att. Vas.* p. 83, No. 88).

The mouth and handles as in the last stamnos, the foot different. Below, a maeander with saltire-squares. There is a good deal of restoration.

Plate IX., 2, gives the two left-hand figures on the obverse: modern, the right arm of the maenad (but not her shoulder), the middle part of her clothes, and the lower parts of both figures. Plate VII., 5, gives the third figure, with what is modern omitted. Then comes a maenad with a panther on her arm. The reverse is almost continuous with the obverse; the silen given in Fig. 15 follows the maenad; another maenad runs to the right, with thyrsus and castanets; and a silen runs to the left, carrying a wineskin and a dinos.

31. Cup. Athletes: I, a youth scraping his forearm, and another youth with a strigil (Fig. 16): A, four youths, two of them with acontia; B, the like. A good deal of restoration. About 470 B.C.: by the painter of Naples 2610 -I don't know what else to call him. His other cups are -

Naples, 2610. I, a youth with a strigil seated on a rock, and a man: A-B, athletes, trainers, and men.

Vatican. I, a man leaning on his stick and talking to a youth: A-B, youths (two of them holding lyres) and men.

Berlin, 2534. Gerhard, *Trinkschalen und Gefässe*, Pl. 8. I, Herakles resting, with a silen: A-B, Herakles and Busiris: B much restored.

The patterns and palmettes are the same in all four cups.

32. Column-krater. A, Ariadne mounting her chariot (Fig. 17). B, athletes and trainer. About 470 B.C.: by the Pig painter (*I.A.* p. 119, No. 1; *Att. I.* p. 240, No. 12).

The goddess, since Dionysos stands beside her, must be Ariadne; not Athena as I carelessly stated in my previous accounts. The subject is therefore the same as in another column-krater by the same hand, formerly in the Shuválov

collection, now in the Hermitage at Petrograd: No. 11 in my list.<sup>1</sup>

33. Neck-amphora with triple handles. Gerhard, *A. V.* Pl. 144: *Burlington Catalogue*, 1903, Pl. 95, H 52. About 450 B.C. A, Herakles (Fig. 18) and Athena: Iolaos in attendance.

two men. The old man may be Zeus, who is sometimes represented with white hair; for instance, on a vase of the same period as ours, the pelike by the Villa Giulia painter in the British Museum (95.8-31.1: Stackelberg, *Graeber der Hellenen*, Pl. 18, 2).



FIG. 15. FROM A STAMNOS IN CASTLE ASHBY.

Athena reappears in the same attitude on a bell-krater in Bologna (325: *Annali*, 1881, Pl. F: *Att. Vas.* p. 408, No. 2). B, an old man between

The foot is not cyma-shaped, as Gerhard gives it, but a simple torus, with the side reserved. Relief-contour throughout. The treatment of the

<sup>1</sup> A list of vases by the Pig painter is given in *Att. Vas.* pp. 239-41 and 475. My No. 3 is now in the Gallatin collection. My No. 7, the Louvre column-krater, is now published in *C.V.A. Louvre III*, 1 d, Pl. 25, 9 and 11, my No. 17, the London amphora, in *C.V.A. B.M. III*, 1 c, Pl. 5, 3. Add a column-krater in Zurich (A, Dionysos and maenads; B, youth and man

and woman), another in the Holford collection (A, *Salé Cat. Sotheby*, 11th July, 1927, Pl. 9, No. 159: A, Dionysos and silen; B, silen), a third in Bologna (R. Soprintendenza, *Notizie*, 1927, p. 147: A, maenad; B, silen); and a pelike at one time in the Paris market (*Cat. vente II-14 mai, 1903*, Pl. 1, 8 and 10: A, Dionysos and silen; B, youths and dog).

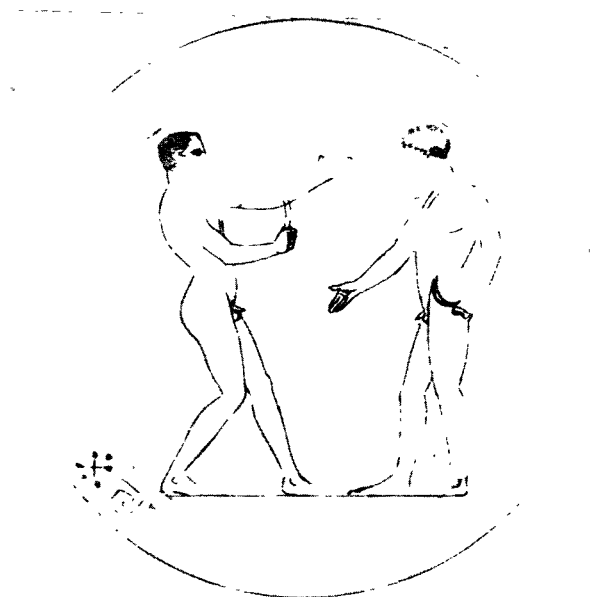


FIG. 16. CUP IN CASTLE ASHBY.



FIG. 17. COLUMN-KRATER IN CASTLE ASHBY.



lionskin is unusual: the outside brown, with short incised strokes; the inside red. The lower parts of the old man on the reverse, and of the man to the left of him, are modern: the old man will have had both feet frontal.



FIG. 18. FROM A NECK-AMPHORA IN CASTLE ASHBY.

In my *Vases in America*, I attributed this neck-amphora to the Nausicaa painter (p. 122, No. 3): later, in my *Attische Vasenmaler* (p. 254), I pointed out that it was closely related to the work of the

Oinante painter,<sup>1</sup> and I suggested that this, and some other vases in the same style, might bridge the gap between the painter of the Oinante hydria and the painter of the Nausicaa vase. I should now be inclined to assign the Castle Ashby vase to the Oinante painter. I still think it possible that he and the Nausicaa painter are the same; that the Nausicaa vase and what goes with it are late works of the Oinante painter.<sup>2</sup>



FIG. 19. NOLAN AMPHORA IN CASTLE ASHBY (A).

34. Nolan amphora with ridged handles. A, Apollo and Artemis (Fig. 19). B, a youth (Fig. 20). At the handle, a circumscribed palmette. On the graffito, see my text to *C.I.A.* Oxford, III. 1, Pl. 28, 3-4. About 440 B.C.: by the painter of Petrograd 702: No. 2 in my list of his works, *Attische Vasenmaler*, p. 422.<sup>3</sup> Fig. 21 shows the youth on the reverse of his Vienna vase, No. 5 in my list. The Castle Ashby vase is mentioned by Furtwängler (*A.Z.* 1881, p. 304): his adjective is odd.

<sup>1</sup> A list of vases by the Oinante painter in *Att. Vas.* pp. 251-2: additions in *Vases in Poland*, p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> A list of vases by the Nausicaa painter in *Att. Vas.* pp. 252-3 and 475: additions in *Vases in Poland*, pp. 41-3. Add a neck-amphora with twisted handles in Marseilles (3198:

warrior leaving home), and pelikai in Athens (1400, C.C. 1184) and Mykonos (part of a youth remains on each side).

<sup>3</sup> The obverse of my No. 1, the Nolan amphora, Petrograd 702, is published from a photograph in *J.H.S.* xlviii, p. 15, Fig. 6.

35. Small hydria from Nola. A woman seated with a mirror and a woman bringing her a box. About 430 B.C. Burnt greyish: the foot seems not to belong: the drapery of the standing woman is mended with a fragment from another vase.



FIG. 20. NOLAN AMPHORA IN CASTLE ASHBY (B).

This is one of the neat miniature hydriai which came into vogue during the Peloponnesian war. Some of these are by the Washing painter,<sup>1</sup> others by the Shuválov painter:<sup>2</sup> but our vase does not belong to either group. Nearest, a



FIG. 21. NOLAN AMPHORA IN VIENNA (B).

<sup>1</sup> On the Washing painter see *Att. Vas.* pp. 431-6 and 478-9, and *Vases in Poland*, pp. 59-60.

<sup>2</sup> A list of vases by the Shuválov painter is given in *Att. Vas.* pp. 437-9. Dr. Waldhauer points out to me that the Petrograd neck-amphora No. 4 in my list is not identical with the Pourtales vase published in *E. céram.* 2, Pl. 14: so we have two vases instead of one. No. 3 in my list, the Gallatin hydria, is now published in *C.I.A. Gallatin*, Pl. 24, 8; No. 4 in *R.M.* 42, Beil. 30, 2; No. 10, which is now in Petrograd, in Licht, *Sitzungsberichte*, ii, p. 10, and in *R.M.* 42, p. 231; No. 15, the Brussels oinochoe, in *C.I.A. Brussels III*, 1 d, Pl. 4, 5; No. 18, the Berlin oinochoe, in *F.R.* iii, p. 317; No. 10, the Louvre kotyle, in Jacobsthal, Pl. 128. Add a small hydria in Heidelberg (B 133: woman seated with wreath and woman with box), a fragment of another,

also in Heidelberg (K 28: woman with box), a small hydria in Petrograd (*R.M.* 42, p. 233: attributed by Miss Peredol'ski), an oinochoe shape II in Petrograd (*ibid.*, Beil. 30, 1), an oinochoe shape III in Leipzig (youths with lyres), and another in the British Museum (E 525: d'Hancarville, ii, Pls. 101-2: phot. Mansell 3202, left), an oinochoe shape IV in Dresden (332: woman seated with lyre and two women), a fragmentary oinochoe shape V in Tübingen (E 119: Apollo seated and a woman), a small pelike in Corneto (*R.C.* 1080: A, youth with phiale and youth with oinochoe; B, youth), and a small neck-amphora with ridged handles in the Parrish collection (No. 38 in the sale catalogue: A, Apollo and a woman; B, a youth), and another in Mykonos (A, a youth pursuing a woman; B, youth), this already assigned to our painter by Buschor.

small hydria in Berne (12409: *Bull. Nap.* 6, Pl. 2; *Rev. arch.* 1910, 1, p. 238): not far off, two in the British Museum, E 208 (phot. Mansell 3159, right), and E 209 (*Zapiski Arkh. Obshchestva*, 12, p. 360: phot. Mansell 3159, left), and a third in Lyons (woman seated with wreath and woman with alabastron).

36. Cup. (Pl. IX., 3 and 4; Pl. XI., 2.) Athletes and trainers. About 430-20 B.C.: by the Eretria painter (*Vases in Poland*, p. 57).<sup>1</sup>

The inside picture may be compared with that by the same hand in Leipsic (T 544: *Fahrbuch* 11, p. 193). Outside, four groups of athlete and trainer or friend. Three of the athletes hold discs, the fourth a strigil, and a sprig, of olive it seems, *θαλλός ἐλαίας*; one of the friends on the other side holds a similar sprig. These sprigs bring to mind a very closely connected cup in the Louvre (G 457: *Mon.* 1856, Pl. 20; Pottier, *Album*, Pl. 148), where an athlete named Ephar-



FIG. 22. BELL-KRATER IN CASTLE ASHBY (B).

Ordinary shape. Graffito A. Little relief-contour. The only restoration is the left forearm of the naked athlete with the sprig, and a strip through his loins: half the blade of his strigil remains, and half the handle.

mostos has a sprig, though not of olive, in his hand.

37. Bell-krater. A, komos: two youths and a flute-girl (Fig. 22). B, three youths (Fig. 23). About 420-10 B.C.: by the Cadmus painter: to

<sup>1</sup> On the Eretria painter see *Att. Vas.* pp. 428-30 and 478; *C.F.A.* Oxford, text to Pl. 40, 3-5, to Pl. 43, 2, and to Pl. 59, 5; and *Vases in Poland*, pp. 56-9, where among other things the 'Lemnos' group (*Att. Vas.* p. 428) is assigned to him. The three fragments assigned to the Eretria painter by Miss Peredolski are now published in *J.H.S.* xlviii, Pl. 7, right. Add a cup

in private possession in Athens (I, departure of youth: A-B, Achilles leaving home). The cup-fragment Oxford 1025, 75 (*C.F.A.* Oxford, Pl. 14, 48), is also akin to his work; and a cup in the Thorvaldsen Museum at Copenhagen (113: I, man and youth: A-B, youths and men).

be added to my list of his works in *Attische Vasenmaler*, pp. 451-2.<sup>1</sup>

I figure, for comparison, the back-youths of the Vienna bell-krater with Leda (Fig. 24),<sup>2</sup> which Tillyard rightly attributed to the painter of the Berlin hydria with Cadmus;<sup>3</sup> and also those of a third bell-krater, evidently by the same hand, Louvre G 503 (Fig. 25).<sup>4</sup>

38. Hydria. Dionysos and nymphs. About

by Froehner in *Burlington Catalogue*, 1888, pp. 52-3. The drawing is in glaze-paint, with purple for the crest and cloak of the falling warrior, and for parts of the shoulder-palmettes. The date is about 450, the style peculiar.

40. Apulian red-figured oinochoe of the shape known as 'epichysis,' from Ruvo (Pl. XI., 3). *Bull. Nap.* 5, Pl. 6, 1. The Judgment of Paris. Second half of the fourth century B.C.



FIG. 23. BELL-KRATER IN CASTLE ASHBY (A).

420-10 B.C.: by the Chrysis painter (*V.A.* p. 183, No. 3: *Att. Vas.* p. 455, No. 4).<sup>5</sup> Shape and patterns as in the New York hydria. A good deal of restoration.

39. Attic white lekythos. Fight. Described

The aegis of Pallas is black, with red dots, and is marked off from the background by an incised line. The inscriptions are in tiny, indistinct letters. I can read Pallas, Eros, Alexandros, Hera, but not the Helene which was read by

<sup>1</sup> I ought to have mentioned in *Attische Vasenmaler* that Nos. 1-4 and 8-9 had been put together by Watzinger (*Jahrbuch* 16, p. 142) and not only by the scholars whom I named: and that two of the vases on my p. 452, Nos. 3 and 4, were associated by him with the group for the first time. Add a hydria in Athens (14742: women).

<sup>2</sup> A is published in Laborde, *Vases de Louvre*, i. Pl. 14, *Année* 1884, Pl. I., and, from a photograph, in *Manchester Ac.*

*Staden*, p. 84, 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Hesperia*, p. 83.

<sup>4</sup> The obverse is given by Hackl in *Man. hener Arch. Studien*, p. 84, 2, by Pottier (*Revue*, Pl. 153), and, after a photograph by Minari, by Licht (*Sitzungsber.* p. 247). Both sides are now published in *C.V.A. Louvre III*, 1<sup>re</sup>, Pl. 1, 1-3.

<sup>5</sup> A list of vases by the Chrysis painter is given in *Att. Vas.* p. 455.

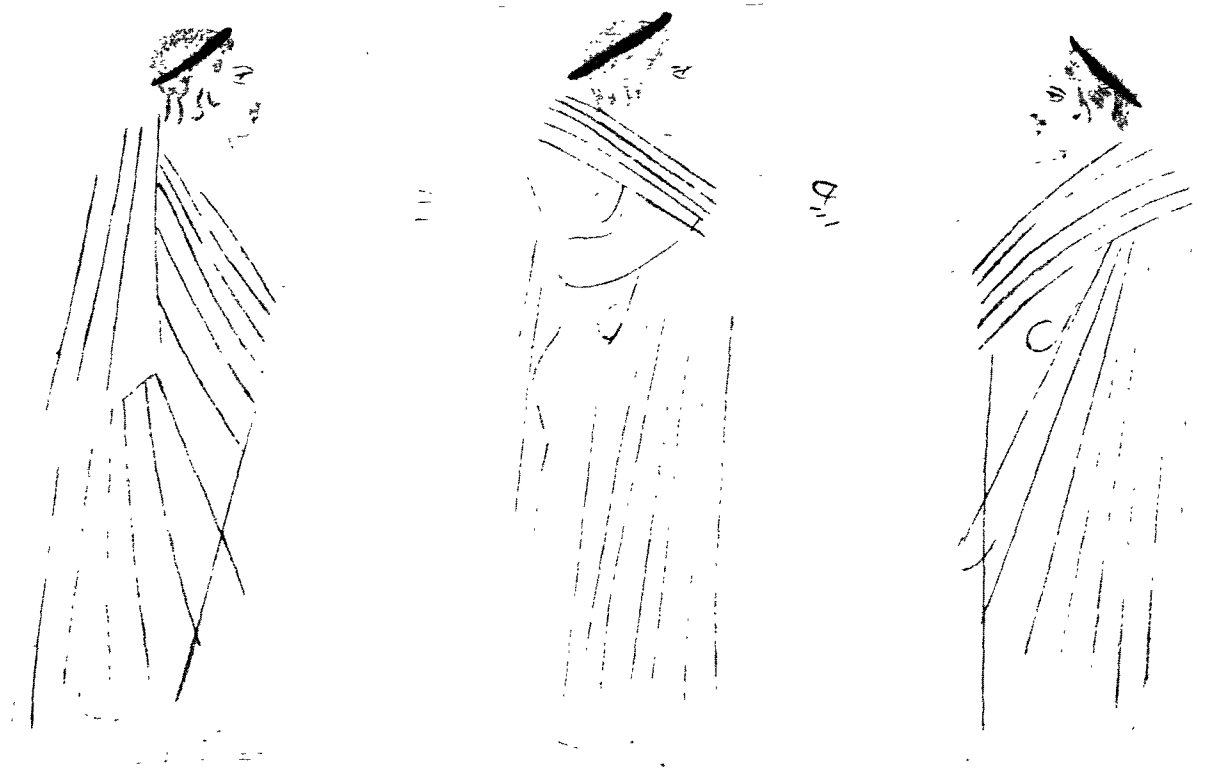


FIG. 24. BELL-KRATER IN VIENNA (B).



FIG. 25. BELL-KRATER IN THE LOUVRE, G 503 (B).

Panofka and Furtwängler:<sup>1</sup> the letters seem to be ΠΛΛΗ.

The drawing is charming. Elaborate figure-subjects are rare on vases of this shape: but another, in Berne (12406), has the oaristys of Zeus and Hera on Mount Ida.

41. Italic red-figured neck-amphora with cylin-

drical handles, from Nola. A, a man dressed in a himation; in front of him, a volute-krater on a base: B, a woman beside a tall column. Later part of the fifth century B.C. This vase belongs to a barbarous Italian, presumably Campanian fabric which I have discussed elsewhere.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *J. Z.* 1881, p. 304 = *K.S.* ii. p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> *Vases in Poland*, p. 72: add a black neck-amphora in Copenhagen (122 c.i), another, with a white band, in Berlin

(3009), a third in Marseilles (1369: A, woman (?) and bearded head; B, woman (?) and child), and a fourth in the Louvre ("426": woman, child, man).

SOME EARLY SOUTH ITALIAN VASE-PAINTERS :  
WITH A BRIEF INDICATION OF THE LATER HISTORY OF ITALIOTE VASE-PAINTING  
By NOËL MOON.

THE question of the classification of the red-figured vases of Magna Graecia is still highly controversial. So is the question of the foremost seat of the industry, and of the development of the fabric or fabrics. A good deal is being done at the moment in various quarters towards straightening out the problem, but divergence of opinion on essential points is still wide. This article does not attempt to give another complete classification, nor is it intended primarily to resuscitate admiration for works of art wilfully neglected, to cry shame on those who hurry through museum rooms of South Italian exhibits to reach the Attic. It suggests, however, that there might be a pause in these rooms if examples of the best South Italian work were always there. But not infrequently the best have been put among the Attic. Many too are in comparatively inaccessible places and are unpublished. There are several good ones in England that are little known, being in private collections or unexpected museums. Some of these I am publishing, as well as one or two of those that in their museums are thought to be Attic. I am also describing briefly the different groups to which these vases belong, in an attempt to lay down new lines on which the subject may be approached.

By kind permission of the Director I am publishing an early South Italian bell-crater in the South Kensington Museum (Pl. XII.), which I attribute to the painter of the volute-crater in

Munich with the marriage of Sisyphus.<sup>1</sup> There is another bell-crater with the same subject as the South Kensington vase painted by the same hand in the collection of Dr. Ruesch at Zürich. A very similar vase in Leyden has been published by Valentin Kurt Müller,<sup>2</sup> the same naked dancers wearing the same hats, only in place of the flute-player a third dancer in female dress. Müller and others have given lists of the extant representations, in various materials, of Kalathiskos male and female dancers,<sup>3</sup> and these show that apparently the wearing of this sort of hat was not restricted to any one particular cult. But we know from a more important vase than these, an unpublished volute-crater in Taranto, one of the finest examples of early South Italian vase-painting, that they were certainly worn, at any rate in Magna Graecia, at the Karneia, for beside the dancers is a pillar with the inscription ΚΑΡΝΕΙΟΣ, and the dancers all have these wonderful hats. Some of the hats on the Taranto vase are even more wonderful than ours; they are like large elaborate wicker baskets. There is another like them on a vase from Ruvo at Naples with Apollo and Marsyas,<sup>4</sup> and one on a Paestan phlyax vase in the British Museum (F 188).<sup>5</sup>

On the Taranto vase, as on the Leyden vase, one figure is in female dress, and is in the act of spinning round on her toes, her dress billowing out round her. The spin round must have been an important feature of the dance, for the central figure on Dr. Ruesch's vase, in this case a man,

<sup>1</sup> F.R. Pls. 98-99.

<sup>2</sup> *Der Polos*, Pls. VI. and VII.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 83.

<sup>4</sup> *Jahrbuch* xxxii. (1917), p. 54. *Alinari*, 11290.

<sup>5</sup> *Corpus* 2, Pl. 2, No. 3 a.

is doing it too. On the Taranto vase, moreover, a male dancer is springing forward, on the point of touching the female dancer on the shoulder. This looks very like some sort of ritual pursuit dance. But what is known of the ritual pursuit at the Karneia makes the figure in female dress, be it a girl or a boy dressed up, very puzzling.<sup>1</sup> The pursuit by the *σταφυλοδρόμοι* cannot be what we have on the vase. But the female figure baffles us equally if, holding to the old opinion that the gymnopaidia formed part of the Karneia,<sup>2</sup> we see in these dancers the leaders of the choruses who danced and sang to Apollo at the gymnopaidia, wearing crowns of palm leaves in memory of the victory at Thyrea.<sup>3</sup> But these choruses were certainly male, and though the simpler hats might be the so-called *θυρατικοί* (and they are exactly like the hat worn by the archaic bronze lyre-player from Amyclae, whom Wolters took to be a gymnopaidiast),<sup>4</sup> the very elaborate ones on the Taranto vase can hardly be. The dancers on Dr. Ruesch's vase and on the South Kensington vase might be gymnopaidiasts, and their hats might be the *θυρατικοί*, whether or no the gymnopaidia was part of the Karneia. We are not obliged to assume that the dance on these vases is in honour of Apollo Karneios, because we know that it is on the Taranto vase. Yet seeing that all the four vases with kalathiskos dancers are about the same date, that two are actually by the same hand, that two were found in the same neighbourhood,<sup>5</sup> and that all were very possibly made at Taranto, there is a bias in favour of their all representing the same ritual dance—and therefore a dance connected with the ritual of Apollo Karneios. But we must in that case admit that they do not seem to illustrate precisely anything that we know from literary

evidence about the Karneia. It has been suggested that the dance on the Taranto vase recalls the story in Pindar (*Pythian*, ix., ad fin.) of King Antaeus of Cyrene, who, following the plan of Danaus, made his daughter's suitors race for her, and she standing at the goal was the prize for the one who first touched her dress. The dance on the Taranto vase might possibly be, or might have been thought to be, a *μίμησις* of such a race, or the story may be an aetiological legend to explain what is after all a very natural motif in a dance in which both men and girls take part.

I suggest tentatively that this dance with its spinning motif and suggestion of a pursuit might be peculiar to the Lacedaemonians, whether or no this is true of the wearing of the hats. There is ample evidence of its being performed in the neighbourhood of Taranto, and the legend, if it is to be connected, comes from Cyrene. If the dance was popular, as it probably was, it might easily have been performed at the festival of the Karneia, although we have no exact literary evidence about it. For the Karneia was a very big festival, and, after all, the literary evidence does not amount to very much.

A consideration of the date and fabric of the South Kensington vase leads to the question of Macchioro's classification, in accordance with which the collection of South Italian vases in the Naples Museum is now being arranged. Tillyard has criticised this classification in some detail in *The Hope Vases*. There is an accidental but insurmountable difficulty in attempting to classify the vases of South Italy by localities. The exact, or even approximate provenance of these vases is far too often unknown. There is further an inherent objection to the system in that it practically disregards the possibility of importation

<sup>1</sup> Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, iv. p. 259; Pauly-Wissowa, x. p. 1986; Bekker, *Anecd.* i. 305; Hesych. s.v. *Σταφυλοδρόμοι*.

<sup>2</sup> Farnell, *op. cit.* p. 260; Wolters, *Jahrbuch* xi. (1896), p. 7. See also Bieher, *Jahrbuch* xxxii. (1917), p. 55, note 2. For the contrary view see Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. Karneia and Nilsson, *Griechische Feste*, p. 140.

<sup>3</sup> Athenaeus 678b.

<sup>4</sup> *Jahrbuch* xi. (1896), p. 8. Valentin Kurt Muller takes the type of hat worn by the bronze figure to be the so-called *θυρατικός*, and mentions three other examples, all bronzes. He does not connect them, however, with the vase at Leyden (*Der Pöps*, p. 27).

<sup>5</sup> The Taranto vase at Ceglie, the South Kensington vase at Ruvo. I do not know the provenance of the other two.



of vases from one part of the country to another.

It is true that a number of the early vases, that is to say, of vases near in style to Attic work, were found at Ruvo. As we are at present very uncertain about the original seat of the fabric, there would be no objection to calling a group of early vases Ruvo I,<sup>1</sup> if this group were consistent and reasonably complete. Three of the vases that Macchioro classifies under Ruvo I are by the same hand, examples of an early and rather ugly style about which I will speak later. But a fourth vase by the same painter he puts under Anzi II.<sup>2</sup> There is also in Ruvo I the Munich volute-crater with the marriage of Sisyphus, an important work by the painter of the South Kensington vase. Another important piece, his volute-crater at Ruvo with the Rape of the Leucippidae,<sup>3</sup> comes in Ruvo II. This is legitimate, for the Rape of the Leucippidae is a later work, and Ruvo II follows Ruvo I chronologically. But a third vase by this painter, a column-crater in the British Museum (F 174), turns up in Anzi II.<sup>4</sup> Ruvo I is, therefore, invalidated, and there are similar objections to most of the other categories. It is not necessary to go further into Macchioro's classification, which is additionally complicated by the same vase appearing, and this more than once, in two different classes.<sup>5</sup>

Since classification by localities presents such difficulties, we will for the present leave the provenances aside, and distinguish on stylistic grounds alone certain prominent groups from the bewildering mass of South Italian vases, and try to date them and assign them their place in a reasonable order of development. I use the term 'South Italian' to cover all those vases made in South Italy which I think can be brought into

one main line of development. Some of these in museums are called Attic, many Lucanian or Apulian. The term Lucanian I reserve for such vases as seem to be provincial by-products, off the main line of development, and with these I am not dealing at all in this article. The use of the term Apulian I will consider later.

	Subject.	Provenance.	Publications.
<i>Volute-craters.</i>			
1. Munich.	A. Marriage of Sisyphus. B. 1 Muses. 2 Centaurs.	Ruvo.	G.R. Pls. 98-99.
2. Ruvo.	A. Heracles and Amazons. B. Rape of Leucippidae.	Ruvo.	B. <i>Mon.</i> xii. Pl. 16.
3. Goluchow, Czartoryski collection.	A. Pelus and Thetis. B. Komos.	Ruvo.	A. <i>Mon.</i> xii. Pl. 15. B. <i>Ann.</i> lvii. 1885, Pl. F.
<i>Column-crater.</i>			
London.	A. Departure of warrior. B. Four youths.	Anzi.	A. <i>B.M. Cat.</i> iv. Pl. VI.
B.M. F 174.			
<i>Bell-craters.</i>			
1. Louvre, G 493, classed as Attic.	A. Flying Nike and rider. B. Three youths.	Unknown.	Alinari, 23686. <i>Vases du Louvre</i> , iii. Pl. 152.
2. South Kensington.	A. Two kalathiskos dancers and flute-player.	Ruvo <sup>2</sup>	
3. Zurich, Dr Ruesch's Collection.	A. Three kalathiskos dancers.		
4. Vatican, 752.	A. Woman and youth. B. Two youths.	Unknown.	
5. Vatican.	A. Two youths and a woman. B. Three youths.	Unknown.	Albizzati, <i>Pont. Atti</i> , xiv. p. 72.
6. Jena, 424.	A. Two women and a youth. B. Three youths.		
<i>Hydria.</i>			
Petrograd.	Amazonomachy.		<i>Mon.</i> 1856, Pls. 15-16.
<i>Cotyle.</i>			
Naples.	A. Danae and Perseus. B. Old man and youth.	Nola.	

Returning to our groups, I take first, because they are among the best, the vases which I

<sup>1</sup> Macchioro, *Rom. Mitt.* xxvii. (1912), p. 163 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The three by the same hand under Ruvo I are the first two on Macchioro's list in *Rom. Mitt.* xxvii. (1912), p. 168, note 1 (panathenaic amphorae, Naples 2416 and 2418, Patroni, *La Ceramica nell'Italia Meridionale*, Figs. 28 and 29), and the fifth on the list (Naples hydria 3241, referred to by its publications, Baumcister, 1856, tav. 83; Inghirami, *Pitt. di vasi titt.* i. 98-99).

<sup>3</sup> *Mon.* xii. Pl. 16.

<sup>4</sup> *Rom. Mitt.* xxvii. (1912), p. 171, note 3. The fifth vase on the list, a nestoris in Berlin, No. 3143, referred to as *Arch. Ztg.* 1851, tav. 29.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. Naples 2289. Ruvo II and Anzi II. Naples 1764. Anzi II and Anzi IV.

attribute to the painter of the Munich volute-crater. I call him the Sisyphus painter and have added the South Kensington vase, Dr. Ruesch's vase and two slighter works, to those already known.

A number of vases are very near to the Sisyphus painter's style, though I hesitate to attribute them to his hand.<sup>1</sup> The calyx-crater in Naples seems to be a definite imitation of the style.

On the reverses of all but the volute-craters we have the inevitable mantled figures, and it is largely their evidence which turns the strong probability that these vases are by the same hand into a certainty. Those that I have reproduced speak for themselves.

There are only really three distinct figures:—

(1) First figure on B.M. column-crater (Fig. 1), central figure on South Kensington bell-crater (Pl. XII. r.), left-hand figure on Vatican bell-crater 752, central figure on Vatican bell-crater published by Albizzati. A variety of this figure,



FIG. 1. REVERSE OF COLUMN-CRATER IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, F 174.

where the mantle is not pulled straightly across at the waist, and only part of the chest is therefore exposed, is seen in the third figure on the B.M.

column-crater and the central figure on the Louvre bell-crater (Fig. 2).



FIG. 2. REVERSE OF BELL-CRATER IN THE LOUVRE, G 493.

(2) Left-hand figure on South Kensington bell-crater, left-hand figure on the Louvre bell-crater, left-hand figure on Vatican (Albizzati).

(3) Second and fourth figures on B.M. column-crater, right-hand figure on Vatican 752, right-hand figure on the South Kensington vase.<sup>2</sup>

The right-hand figures on the Louvre vase and the Vatican bell-crater (Albizzati) are varieties of this figure.

Furtwängler has discussed the style of this painter in describing his volute-crater in Munich. One important feature of his work is the close parallel of many of his figures with sculptural types. The figures on the Munich vase are extremely close to Parthenon types, though they seem on the whole to indicate a slightly later date. The free leg is freer, and is set slightly further

<sup>1</sup> Calyx-crater, Naples 2284. Bell-craters, Naples 2360 (black number), 2861, 2914; Vatican 709; Bari 6277, Return of warrior; Vienna, Woman with mirror between two naked youths; Cotyle in Cambridge; Fragment with Helios in Heidelberg.

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted to Mr. H. B. Walters for permission to publish the reverses of several vases in the British Museum, and to M. Merlin for permission to publish several vases in the Louvre from photographs by M. Giraudon.

back than on the Parthenon figures. There is a particularly close parallel between the first muse on the vase and a statue restored as Athena in the Conservatori Museum,<sup>1</sup> the body of which is a copy of an original belonging to the school of Pheidias. The stance of the vase-figure is a little more emphatic. Otherwise we have exactly the same type; the arrangement of the drapery, the kind of distinction between chiton and himation is identical. There is a difference, however, in the fashion of the chiton. Most of the female figures on the vase have very long overfalls to their chitons, possibly a South Italian fashion. They are also not very much gathered at the shoulder, so that the sleeve reaches to the elbow, giving an ugly blouse-like effect. We get this on another statue that is very near our type, the Athena Giustiniani in the Vatican.<sup>2</sup> This is a copy of an original which is dated about 400 B.C.—rather later than the Conservatori statue. Clearly, though, the type to which our painter adheres in the Munich vase is not to be fixed to one year. It is only from small differences and from a tendency in the character of the figures that seems to point away from the style of the Parthenon that we are inclined to fix its date a little later than the date of the Parthenon.

Buschor indeed has already pointed out that Furtwängler's date for the Munich vase, 440 B.C., is too early,<sup>3</sup> and the evidence from sculptural analogy favours the date being not earlier than 430. The column-crater in the British Museum is near to the Munich vase in style and feeling, and in the youth holding his horse there is pro-

nounced fellowship with the Parthenon frieze.<sup>4</sup> This is even more so in the Louvre vase (Fig. 3). The rider is amazingly like one on the west frieze of the Parthenon,<sup>5</sup> so much so that we can scarcely help believing that some artist, not



FIG. 3. OBVERSE OF BELL-CRATER IN THE LOUVRE, G 493.

necessarily, though possibly, the Sisyphus painter himself, had seen the frieze and made drawings from it and brought them back to South Italy.

The other two volute-craters must also be later than the Munich crater, for they remind us much more of the Phigalean frieze and the Gjölbaschi reliefs. This is, I think, not due merely to similarity of subject. There is the same treat-

<sup>1</sup> *British School Catalogue*. Scala vi. 12, Pl. 102. As the photograph shows only the front, it is best to see the original.

<sup>2</sup> *Vatican-Katalog*, i., Taf. 18, No. 114. See also another copy in the Capitoline Museum, *British School Catalogue*, p. 104. Alinari 11747.

<sup>3</sup> F.R. iii. p. 161.

<sup>4</sup> See, for instance, a youth standing by his horse on the west side of the frieze. B.M. *Sculptures of the Parthenon*, Pl. 64.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.* Pl. 65. Mr. Hinks has pointed out to me that the horse on the B.M. vase, and clearly the same applies to the Louvre vase, is later than the Parthenon horses and is of the

type that belongs to the period of transition between the Parthenon type and the type of the monument of Dexileos. See Hinks, *J.H.S.* xlvii. (1927). Such a horse as we have on the B.M. vase does not, he tells me, appear before 420 B.C. As an example of this transitional type in vase-painting, he gives the Talos vase (*op. cit.* p. 220). If we put our two vases, in view of their resemblance to the Parthenon frieze, as early as 420-415 B.C., it will not be without precedent, for Professor Beazley has pointed out to me that the new type of horse occurs in vase-painting well before the school of the Meidias painter. See a pelike by the Washing Painter, *Annali*, 1874, Pl. T, *Arch. Zeit.* 1878, Pl. 22. Pfuhl, Fig. 577.

ment of drapery, the same exaggerated whirling of cloaks, which becomes for a time a mania, and what is more important, the same attempt to produce power and violence and the same failure in conviction. The women look as though they were acting the scene. Their gestures are perfectly appropriate, but they are merely gestures. The women at the altar on the Leucippidae vase look posed, and the many outstretched arms and wide-open hands give no feeling of genuine terror.<sup>1</sup> But the result is a great contrast to the coyness of the Leucippidae on the Meidias vase. Our ladies mean at least to protest vigorously; the artists have failed to fire their gestures.

These two vases then were probably painted after 420 B.C. Possibly some great picture lies behind both them and the Phigalean frieze, but we cannot particularise further. The other works are slighter. Of the two bell-craters in the Vatican, one is in bad condition, and I think, from a tendency to softness in the figures, that it might be a late work.<sup>2</sup> The South Kensington vase shows particularly well the suppleness and ease that the Sisyphus painter usually gives to his nude figures, without falling ever to laxity, except in the Vatican crater.

Looking at the better products of South Italian painting, we shall find that when we rank them high, it is usually in virtue of the merit of some actual piece of drawing rather than of the vase as a whole. These painters often enjoyed pattern—I do not mean floral pattern, but pattern made out of figures—and yet were mostly deficient in feeling for organic composition. This becomes more pronounced as time goes on and is not so particularly a fault of the Sisyphus painter. But through this failure to conceive their vases adequately as wholes, and through increasing

lack of taste, though many painters drew excellently, though some had imagination, and a few sufficient sensitiveness to endow occasional figures with genuine feeling,<sup>3</sup> their works, apart from the phlyax vases, are mostly but partial successes.

There are four vases which are very close to the style of the Sisyphus painter, though I do not feel able to attribute them to his hand. One of them, among the nicest of all South Italian vases, has a delightful picture of a little girl dancing, while an older woman plays the flute and taps with her foot to keep time. It is a calyx-crater in Berlin, recently published.<sup>4</sup> Another, very different in character, a calyx-crater in the Rhode Island School of Design at Providence, has Heracles (?) coping with two centaurs. The obverse was published by Tillyard in the catalogue of vases in the Hope Sale,<sup>5</sup> and the reverse I am now able to reproduce (fig. 4) by the kindness of Miss Miriam Banks. It is a vigorous piece, and the centaurs in themselves are excellent, with their brutal faces and great aquiline noses. We shall meet their kind again.<sup>6</sup>

On the reverse of both this and the Berlin vase is an old man and a young man, standing on either side of a pillar. Compare them and you will see that the old man is just the same in both. Notice particularly the drawing of the mantle at the waist. The same old man, this time not a lay-figure, but Agamemnon, appears on the obverse of a third vase, a neck-amphora at Lecce,<sup>7</sup> in company with Briseis and Achilles. I have not seen its reverse. The fourth vase, an oenochoe in the Louvre, is much restored.<sup>8</sup> It is practically a replica of the Heracles on the Providence vase.

This painter I shall refer to as the painter of the Berlin Dancing Girl, and I associate very

<sup>1</sup> Several figures on both the volute-craters and the Phigalean frieze. See especially West Side slab 520 (*Boston Museum Catalogue*) and slab 524.

<sup>2</sup> Albizzati, *Pont. Ann.* xiv. p. 72.

<sup>3</sup> For instance, the figure of Achilles on an unpublished fragment at Heidelberg.

<sup>4</sup> Von Lueken, Pls. 24 and 25; Schröder, *Der Spiegel der Antik.* Pl. 40. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Tillyard, *op. cit.* Pl. 20, No. 228.

<sup>6</sup> The absurd arrangement of their legs is a good example of the mistaken use of pattern to which I have already alluded. In archaic times it would be wonderful; with this style of drawing it is quite out of place.

<sup>7</sup> Albani 35271.

<sup>8</sup> Tischbein, vol. v. Pl. 73.

closely with his four vases a rather good bell-crater in Naples, No. 2861, with Heracles strangling a lion in the presence of Athena. I distinguish him from the Sisyphus painter, because

cloak and the cloak of the youth on the reverse of the Providence vase. The centaurs also are very strikingly different from those on the Sisyphus painter's Munich vase. A minor characteristic



FIG. 4. REVERSE OF CALYX-CRATER IN PROVIDENCE.

in spite of obvious similarity in style, there is in some of the figures, viz. Achilles and Briseis, and especially all the figures on the closely associated Naples vase, a certain angularity that seems foreign to the Sisyphus painter, and a hardness in the drawing of some of the drapery. Look at Achilles'

of this painter is his way of painting the meander border in exceptionally thick strokes.

Having considered briefly the works of two of the best South Italian vase painters, working from about 430 B.C. till towards the end of the century, we have now to examine any other groups there

are that may be included in the fifth century. The earliest of all, a group of vases found at Pisticci, near Metapontum, the work of one hand, has been briefly discussed by Tillyard.<sup>1</sup> In style they are almost indistinguishable from Attic work of about 440 B.C. Pursuit of women by erotes is the predominant subject. To Tillyard's list may be added the following:

(1) Calyx-crater	Taranto	P. Lynceus and Eriphyle	<i>Vor. Stutt.</i> , 1924, p. 199.
(2) Bell-crater.	Vatican.	A. Eros between youth and woman	
		B. Three youths	
(3) Panathenaic Amphora	Taranto.	A. Three women	
		B. Two youths and man	<i>Nor. Stutt.</i> , 1922, p. 313.

Louvre G 405 bell-crater is nearer, I think, to the next group.

Tillyard refers further, on Beazley's authority, to a second group, not unlike this, but coarser and less Attic in character, that develops from the early one. It is a big group, comprising numbers of unimportant pieces, a good many that are decent but rather dull, and some that are quite important. A number are by the same hand, by a painter who may be called the Amykos painter, after the hydria in the Cabinet des Médailles<sup>2</sup> with the Punishment of Amykos. Judging from the number of vases there are of this style, we may assume that he had a school.

The lesser vases are very like the Pisticci group; endless erotes pursuing women,<sup>3</sup> or satyrs after maenads, or warriors resting or departing to the war. The difference is that the figures are heavier and coarser and the work savours of mass-production. The Amykos painter himself produced several larger vases decorated with two rows of pictures. Three of these are those examples of the rather ugly style which I have referred to already as having been placed in Ruvo I. Apart from the hydria in the Cabinet des Médailles which has the Punishment of Amykos on the upper row, and one in Naples

which has Heracles among the Amazons, the scenes on these two-zone vases deal with stock themes—warriors resting, Dionysiac revels, pursuits, centauiromachies, decent work on the whole, but usually dull if not actually ugly. The Amykos painter delighted in experimenting with complicated poses, at which pursuit he was liable to over-reach himself and produce curiously ungainly attitudes.<sup>4</sup> His simpler figures too are often ugly and awkward, with mean faces and constricted joints. He has a hideous short-hand way of drawing the edge of the hair round the face in little short strokes, but this device is usually reserved for the back of the vase.

All this sounds damning, but we have not yet looked for his good points, or considered his most important works. To begin with he could draw most excellent floral patterns.<sup>5</sup> On more elaborate pieces his figures too are drawn with care. I have said that they tend to be ugly, but there are some exceptions. There is a nice cotyle in Palermo with a silen sitting on a rock facing us, and a woman standing by fluting.<sup>6</sup> The reproduction hardly does it justice. On the other side of the cotyle is a figure that is typical of the Amykos painter—a woman seated on a rock, her mantle drawn tightly across her knees and wrapped all round her so that only one hand is free. She appears on a bell-crater—also at Palermo, and on a pelike in the possession of Messrs. Spink, whom I have to thank for their kindness in providing me with a photograph, and for permission to reproduce it (Fig. 5). It is a good example of this painter's average work. These two vases are practically replicas. Then we see part of this figure on the fine fragments of a cotyle with Marsyas in New York. There the Amykos painter was at his best. He could indeed rise above mediocrity, for he painted also the well-known volute-crater with Phineus and the Harpies,<sup>7</sup> though even there we do not escape

<sup>1</sup> Tillyard, *op. cit.*, p. 9, Pl. 29, No. 256.

<sup>2</sup> Gerhard, *A.F.*, Pls. 153 and 154.

<sup>3</sup> Tillyard, Pl. 29, No. 257.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Reverse of the Phineus crater. F.R.I. p. 324.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. Hydria in Cabinet des Médailles. New York Fragment, see *Bull. Mus.*, July 1913, p. 158, and Jacobsthal, *Ornamente*, p. 144, note 266.

<sup>6</sup> *Arch. Zeit.*, iii. (1871), Pl. 55.

<sup>7</sup> F.R. Pl. 60.

mean little faces and constricted joints. Furtwängler pointed out that it was very near to the calyx-crater at Richmond with the Blinding of Polyphemus, which has spirit like the Phineus vase, but as a whole is rather ugly.



FIG. 5. PELIKE IN THE POSSESSION OF MESSRS. SPINK. OBVERSE.

In the following list of vases by the Amykos painter I am not including all the lesser pieces. There are, of course, many more that are probably works of his school.

<i>Hyaridae.</i>			
1. Cab. des Méd.	A. Punishment of Amykos. B. Silens and maenads.	Nola	Gerhard, <i>A.F.</i> Pls. 153 and 154. <i>H. J.</i> 1889, Pl. 12, V.
2. Naples.	A. Centaureomachy. B. Youths, women, eros.		Sommer 11122, 22.
3. Naples.	A. Heracles with Amazons. B. Komos.	Ruvo.	<i>Arch. Zeit.</i> 1856, Pl. 89.
4. Private Collection.	Eros pursuing woman		Fillyard Pl. 20, No. 217.

#### *Calyx-craters.*

1. Richmond	A. Polyphemus. B. Four youths.		<i>Fahrbuch</i> vi. (1891), Pl. 6
2. New York.	A. Fight. B. Four youths.		

#### *Foliate-crater.*

Ruvo.	A. Phineus and Harpies B. Warriors resting	Ruvo.	A. <i>F.R.</i> Pl. 62. B. <i>F.R.</i> vol. 1, p. 34
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#### *Bell-craters.*

1. British Museum, F 499.	A. Two athletes and trainer B. Three youths		
2. Louvre G 522 classed as Attic.	A. Warriors arming and woman. B. Three youths.	Ginosa	Pottier, <i>Vases du Louvre</i> , in. Pl. 153.
3. Palermo 955.	A. Two conversation groups B. Three youths.		
4. Berlin 3179.	A. Naked woman with tympanum between silens. B. Three youths.	Telese.	

#### *Panathenaic Amphorae*<sup>1</sup>

1. Naples 2418.	A. Belleroophon B. Women, youths, erotes.	Ruvo.	Patroni, p. 35. Sommer 11125, better.
2. Naples 2416.	A. Warriors arming B. Youths and erotes pursuing women.	Ruvo.	Patroni, p. 34. Sommer 11125, S.
3. Naples 2918.	A. Two youths and two women. B. Four youths	Ruvo.	Sommer 11125, 2.

#### *Pelikai.*

1. Spink	A. Same as Palermo 955 B. Four youths		
2. Taranto.	A. Domestic scene B. Three youths.	Pisticci.	<i>Not. Scatt.</i> 1924, p. 2, 3
3. Vatican.	A. Two women at an altar.		Albizzati <i>Pont. Att.</i> xiv p. 171.

#### *Nestorides.*

1. Berlin 3143.	A. Departure of youths B. Pursuit.		<i>Arch. Zeit.</i> 1851, p. 129
2. British Museum F 177.	A. Warriors resting. B. Komos.		Man-sell 3291.

#### *Coryliai.*

1. Palermo.	A. Women fluting and silens. B. Youth and seated woman		<i>Arch. Zeit.</i> 1871, p. 155.
2. Palermo 968.	A. Maenad. B. Satyr.		
3. New York fragments).	Marsyas.		Mentioned in <i>Bulletin</i> , July 1913, p. 158.

#### *Oenochoe.*

Palermo 918.	Youth, woman and cat.		
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There is a very pretty bell-crater in the Room of Greek and Roman Life in the British Museum, F 501, Eros playing with knuckle-bones, which seems too nice to have come from the Amykos painter, and yet the back and various details of the front are so like his style that I believe it is his work. The heads are very small, and there

<sup>1</sup> Patroni classes these three Panathenaic amphorae together as examples of the early Apulian style.

is a neatness and precision of execution that makes us think of the early group from Pisticci. Possibly this is a very early work by the Amykos painter, and belongs to a time when he was keeping close to Attic tradition, as did the painter of the earliest group.<sup>1</sup>

The works of the Amykos painter and his school must be brought down, I think, to the last decade of the century. Obviously the turn of the century has no determining value for dating in itself. We can safely say that this style must have originated very soon after 440 B.C., seeing how very close it is at the beginning to the Pisticci group. We should anyhow assume a certain time to have elapsed between, for instance, the Panathenaic amphorae and the Phineus vase. This Furtwängler put in the last decade of the fifth century in view of its correspondence in shape to the Talos vase. I do not think that any of his other extant pieces are obviously later than this. Winter thought that the Polyphemus vase was painted under the influence of Euripides' Cyclops, which is dated not before 415 B.C.

The groups that we have so far considered do not, of course, comprise all the early South Italian vases. Two of the very best are not yet published and there seems little hope at present of this being done. They are the volute-craters at Taranto, one with the birth of Dionysus and an Amazonomachy, the other, to which we have already referred, with Perseus and the Karneia. There is another fine volute-crater at Naples (No. 2411)<sup>2</sup> with a sacrifice of a goat to Dionysus, and a Centauromachy, to which we shall return later. It is not far in style from the Sisyphus painter, and might possibly be a late work of his,<sup>3</sup> in spite of the signs of fussiness in the drapery,<sup>4</sup>

and of the softness of the reclining Dionysus. I do not, however, put it among his works.<sup>5</sup> Very near to this is a volute-crater in Brussels<sup>6</sup> with Heracles driven to heaven and an Amazonomachy.

The little subsidiary figures on the necks are extremely alike. These subsidiary figures are important, for they help to equate slight works with the more important ones, and we can, moreover, trace their development right through our series, and see them becoming gradually looser and floppier as time goes on.

There are, of course, a considerable number of bell-craters and smaller vases belonging to the fifth and early fourth centuries, beyond those that I have described or mentioned, and except for the Pisticci group and perhaps some of the Amykos painter's earliest works, early South Italian vases with their large-headed, solemn figures should be easily recognised. Some very notable fragments are:

(1) Fragment of a cotyle with Icarus in the Ashmolean.<sup>7</sup>

(2) Fragment of a calyx-crater with a Thracian nurse in the British Museum, E 509 (1).

(3) Fragment with Calydonian Boar Hunt at Taranto.<sup>8</sup>

(4) Fragment with Embassy to Achilles at Heidelberg.

So far I have omitted three of the best known of South Italian vases; the calyx-crater in the Cabinet des Médailles with Odysseus consulting the shade of Teiresias;<sup>9</sup> the bell-crater in the Louvre with the Expiation of Orestes,<sup>10</sup> and the calyx-crater in the British Museum with the capture of Dolon.<sup>11</sup>

Both Hauser and Buschor believe that the Teiresias vase is by the same hand as Naples 2411

<sup>1</sup> B.M. 499 is also very neat and the heads are small. Possibly the Amykos painter began in the tradition of the early group which has small heads, and later adopted the prevailing South Italian fashion for large heads.

<sup>2</sup> *Mon.* vi.-vii. Pls. 37, 38, *Jahrb.* xlviii. (1912), p. 274. Alinari 113000 '61, about to be published in the next I.R. Pls. 175-176.

<sup>3</sup> Pichl attributes it to the same hand as the Munich crater and the Rape of the Leucippidae.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the maenad pouring mead into the calyx-crater with the mother of Anticleia on the Munich vase.

<sup>5</sup> Notice the difference between the Centauromachy on this vase and on the Munich vase.

<sup>6</sup> Millingen, *P.J.G.* Pls. 30-38; *Cat.* i. 1, D 6.

<sup>7</sup> Beazley, *J.B.S.* xliii. 1027, Pl. XXI

<sup>8</sup> *V. & A.* i. p. 135.

<sup>9</sup> I.R. Pl. 62.

<sup>10</sup> I.R. Pl. 122.

<sup>11</sup> I.R. Pl. 113.



(volute-crater with sacrifice of goat), and that a fragment formerly in the collection of Dr. Arndt and now at the Hague is from a finer work by the same painter.<sup>1</sup> The three pieces are certainly more or less contemporary. Buschor equates

works and Naples 2411 are much more marked in the case of the Teiresias vase, but naturally, modifications in style are not to be marshalled in strict chronological sequence, and we must not forget the possibility of overlapping. The Teire-



FIG. 6. REVERSE OF THE ORESTES VASE IN THE LOUVRE.

them with the Talos vase, the Meidias painter, the Erechtheum and the Nike balustrade, and dates the Teiresias vase at 410 B.C. This is not at variance with my view that the Sisyphus painter was working up to the last decade of the century, although the difference pointed out between his

sias vase and the Brussels vase, besides others, are a link between the Sisyphus painter and the style of the early fourth century.

Turning to the other two, neither the Dolon vase nor the Expiation of Orestes is as early as might seem.<sup>2</sup> Nor is the Dolon vase by the

<sup>1</sup> F.R. iii. p. 161.

<sup>2</sup> Tillyard calls the Expiation of Orestes an example of the normal early South Italian style, and the Dolon vase a develop-

ment, but in a new direction, from vases such as the Teiresias vase. *Op. cit.* p. 9.

painter of the Teiresias vase as has been thought.<sup>1</sup> Hauser put the Orestes vase at 430 B.C., but already Buschor has brought it down to the beginning of the fourth century.

In shape it is clearly later than any bell-crater painted by the Sisyphus or Amykos painters. The rim projects considerably beyond the handles and the body is very tapering (Fig. 6). On Tillyard's analysis of the bell-craters it would come between his number 2 and 3, *i.e.* between 410 B.C. and 380 B.C.<sup>2</sup> Look now at the figures on the reverse, and compare them with any similar groups on the vases that we have seen to be early. Are not the youths flabbier than anything we have yet seen, although in their general proportions and fleshiness they have been foreshadowed already in the Teiresias vase? Then the drapery has become very fussy, much fussier than on Naples 2411, and the women are altogether floppy-looking. Even allowing for individuality of style, this cannot be contemporary with the Sisyphus painter, or even with the Teiresias vase.

It is akin in style to, but a little later in date than, a group of bell-craters that we will now consider and whose author we may call the Tarporley painter, after a good piece, once at Deepdene and now in the collection of The Hon. Marshall Brooks at Tarporley, who is so good as to allow me to publish it here. The vase is better than would seem from the photograph.

You feel at once that this painter has had the Sisyphus painter behind him. There is suppleness still in the limbs of the youths, and the same heavy solemnity in the women, despite their fussier drapery and coarser faces. The heads are characterised particularly by the large drooping mouths. I only know four vases that are definitely by this painter, and all have very similar subjects. I have seen the backs of them all but one, and am convinced of their being by the same hand. I am publishing three of them, Mr. Brooks's, one in the British Museum, and one, once at Deepdene and now in the Laing

Gallery at Newcastle-upon-Tyne (Pl. XIII.). I give the backs of the two latter; I have seen the back of the one at Tarporley, which is almost identical with the back of the one at Newcastle. I am adding to the list some other vases that are very near in style. They are all bell-craters.

- |                                    |  |                            |
|------------------------------------|--|----------------------------|
| 1. Tarporley.                      | A. Maenad crowning an ephebe and horned satyr with a bird.                               | Tillyard, Pl. 37, No. 211. |
|                                    | B. Three youths.   |                            |
| 2. Newcastle. Laing Gallery.       | A. Nike between youth and horned satyr with a bird.                                      | Tillyard, Pl. 37, No. 212. |
|                                    | B. Three youths.   |                            |
| 3. British Museum. 1893.           | A. Nike between Dionysus and Peneus.   |                            |
|                                    | B. Two youths and a woman.   |                            |
| 4. Zurich. Dr. Ruech's collection. | A. Dionysus holding a mask and horned satyr dipping in a conch shell into a bell-crater. |                            |

Near in style are

- |                                       |  |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Lynmouth. Wilfred Hill Collection. | A. Nike crowning Heracles and youth with wreath. |
|                                       | B. Three youths.                                 |
| 2. B.M. F 41.                         | A. Woman between two youths.                     |
|                                       | B. Three youths.                                 |
| 3. Vatican 744.                       | A. Youth between two Nikai.                      |
|                                       | B. Woman between two youths.                     |
| 4. Madrid 3.                          | A. Female flute-player, youth and satyr.         |
|                                       | B. Three youths.                                 |

This group, since it follows in the tradition of the Sisyphus painter, must belong to the turn of the century. The Louvre vase with the Expiation of Orestes is, as we have said, rather later, and comes probably somewhere between 390 and 380 B.C. The volute-crater in Naples with Iphigeneia and the sacrifice of Orestes<sup>3</sup> shows the same style, very accomplished but rather fussy, at a later stage. Here we see the new fashion for painting elaborate garments and head-dresses. Buschor dates it at 370, and one would reasonably put the Louvre vase about ten years earlier. The volute-crater in Berlin with the marriage of Heracles and Hebe follows in the same line, about ten years later.<sup>5</sup>

There is now the Dolon crater in the British Museum. I have said that I do not agree that it is by the painter of the Teiresias vase. There is analogy certainly in the general scale of the figures and some resemblances in the actual draw-

<sup>1</sup> By Hauser, F.R. ii. p. 263.

<sup>2</sup> Tillyard, *op. cit.* p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Leroux, Pl. 37.

<sup>4</sup> F.R. Pl. 148.

<sup>5</sup> F.R. Pl. 149.

ing of the bodies.<sup>1</sup> But this you cannot go upon much, for the drawing of the body was in South Italy a matter of too universal tradition.

But the figures drawn by the Dolon painter are normally extraordinarily distinctive, and there is nothing like them on the Teiresias vase. What is rather misleading is that the obverse of the Dolon crater is so much more elaborate and on so much bigger scale than any other works by this painter, that the very characteristic features of his style are rather obscured. But the reverse

it will not be hard to recognise other works by this hand. In the British Museum is an ugly nestoris (F 176) with the death of Actaeon on the upper row, and youths and women on the lower.<sup>4</sup>

I am publishing a detail of this for comparison with the reverse of the Dolon crater (Fig. 8). You will see, too, an affinity with the Amykos painter, in spite of such marked difference in the handiwork. The characteristic slap-dash drawing of the breasts, and the straggling of the hair on



FIG. 7. REVERSE OF THE DOLON VASE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.



FIG. 8. DETAIL OF NESTORIS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, F 176.

gives the true criterion (Fig. 7).<sup>2</sup> These are his people, ragged-looking, with large curly heads and large drooping mouths, with drapery harshly and scratchily drawn and breasts very protruding. The drawing of the body is often ugly and reminds us a little of the Amykos painter. There is, indeed, all through the works of the Dolon painter an echo of his style, and we can see that the one follows from the other.<sup>3</sup> Once familiar with the figures on the back of the Dolon crater,

the neck, another of this painter's unpleasant habits, are more than apparent.

Better than this are two bell-craters painted in a coarsely humorous vein and making an amusing pair, one in the collection of Mr. Warren at Lewes, and one in the collection at Durham. Both have a young Dionysus tormenting an old silen; on one he prods him till he roars with pain, while a maenad looks on coyly;<sup>5</sup> on the other he pulls his hair to make him gambol,

<sup>1</sup> F.R. ii, p. 263.

<sup>2</sup> *Restorations*.—Nude youth. Back of head, chin and neck, most of left shoulder and arm, right arm and part of hand, most of the outline of the body, back of the left thigh, all the right leg except markings of the knee and ankle.

Second woman. Left breast, top of right shoulder, part

of right forearm and hand, some of the lower part of the drapery.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the Taranto pelike, *Not. Scrit.*, 1904, p. 203, which makes one think of the Dolon painter already.

<sup>4</sup> Mansell 3290.

<sup>5</sup> Tillyard, Pl. 30, No. 214.

while a maenad plays the tympanum (Pl. III.). This I am able to publish by the kindness of the Dean of Durham and Mr. Meade-Falkener. You will easily recognise, in the face of the old silen, the hand that drew Dolon and his captors; and other characteristics, breasts, hair, drapery, drawing of the body, will be quickly seen.<sup>1</sup> There is another short-skirted maenad very like this one on a third bell-crater, in the collection at Yale University; this time not an obstreperous scene, but the same trio, a young Dionysus, an old silen and a maenad.<sup>2</sup> There is a careful fragment of a panathenaic amphora in the possession of Dr. Hirsch at Geneva, which the owner is good enough to allow me to reproduce (Pl. XIV.), which shows well the style of the Dolon painter when he is not hurried. The youth is very like the nude youth on the back of the Dolon crater, but comes closest to young Dionysus on the Yale vase.<sup>3</sup> The woman shows very well a small characteristic feature, the poking forward of the dress at the neck. The drapery on the fragmentary figure on the left is to be compared with Dionysus on the Lewes vase.

Some of these works are amusing, but they are not very great, and the Dolon painter seems to have been a man who, as far as we know, painted one masterpiece, and for the rest, in comparison with this, disappoints us. There is something that may account for this, though we need not necessarily take it so. Before going into it, I give a list of the vases that have been attributed to his hand. The hasty and careless drawing of the cross square in the meander border is the same on several vases. From consideration of style, this group seems a little later than the group of the Tarporley painter.

<i>Calyx-crater.</i>			
London, B.M.	A. Capture of Dolon.	Pistecr.	I R Pl. 11.
F 175.	B. Two youths and two women.		

<i>Bell-crater.</i>			
1. Lewes.	A. Dionysus tormenting silen.		Tilkard, Pl. 37, No. 214.
2. Durham.	B. Three youths.		
	A. Dionysus tormenting silen.		
3. Yale.	B. Three youths.		Baur, Pl. 16.
	A. Dionysus, maenad, silen.		
4. Vienna.	B. Three youths.		
	A. Oristes and Electra.		Laborde, i. Pl. 18.
<i>Amphora.</i>			
B.M. 1. 176.	A. Death of Actaeon.		J. Mansell, 329.
	B. Kottos.		
<i>Calyx-crater.</i>			
1. Leipzig.	A. Eros.		<i>Archäol. xli</i> (1891), p. 105.
	B. Atreus.		
2. Palermo.	A. Woman and youth.		
<i>Near in style are</i>			
<i>Bell-crater.</i>			
1. Naples 2470.	A. Amalthea.		
	B. Three youths.		
2. Naples 478.	A. Three women.		
	B. Woman and two youths.		

Let us return to the calyx-crater with Heracles and the centaurs, by the painter of the Berlin dancing girl.<sup>4</sup> There is a centaur holding his wounded shoulder, just like the one on our vase, on the Phigalean frieze. Several similar parallels, but none more striking, are to be found between figures from the Centauromachy on the Phigalean frieze, and from a group of South Italian vases (to which we may now add this one) which Watzinger<sup>5</sup> has put together, and which he considers near to the Aristophanes painter. These are:

- (1) The volute-crater at Naples with sacrifice of a goat and a Centauromachy.<sup>6</sup>
- (2) The lid of a pyxis at Bari.<sup>7</sup>
- (3) A volute-crater in the British Museum, F 277.

From a careful consideration of these parallels, his conclusion is, that apart from similarity of motive, not in itself sufficient proof, there is enough obvious connection between these vases and the Phigalean frieze, e.g. the movement of the figures, the fluttering of cloaks and skins, the

<sup>1</sup> I am not reproducing the back of the Durham vase or of Mr. Warren's, but I have seen both.

<sup>2</sup> Baur, *Cat. of the Collection*, Pl. 16 at p. 188.

<sup>3</sup> Notice particularly the drawing of the shoulder and chest.

<sup>4</sup> *Styl. p.* 35.

<sup>5</sup> *Archäol. xli* (1913), p. 160.

<sup>6</sup> *Styl. p.* 39.

<sup>7</sup> *Archäol. xli* (1913), p. 158.

type of the centaurs with the hairy tuft at the junction of the human and equine parts, to point to some common prototype. The prototype he believes to have been a painted post-Polygnotan work, and the inference is that Zeuxis was the painter.<sup>1</sup> (This influence does not, of course, only lie behind the three vases chosen for close comparison with the Phigalean frieze.) Though the links which make up Watzinger's chain of argument are not strong enough to prove this, there are a number of separate facts which converge to make up a very strong probability, viz. many of the vases suggest inspiration from free painting; some look like excerpts from larger works; Zeuxis was a great painter at the time; he may have come from Heracleia in Lucania, in spite of an objection on the ground of dates,<sup>2</sup> and at any rate he went to Magna Graecia in the course of his career, and copies of his work probably existed;<sup>3</sup> he painted a centaur that was particularly fearful and savage-looking and was hairy on both the human and equine parts.<sup>4</sup> Most important of all, we gather from Lucian's description of the Centaur Family, that it must have had a kind of 'terrifying-comic' effect, and this is exactly what we have in the Capture of Dolon. Then Zeuxis was criticised for making his heads and hands too big.<sup>5</sup> The monstrous heads and hands are striking features of the Dolon vase, and heads are large in all that painter's works. The Sisyphus painter too tended to make hands large and prominent, and we have seen that two of his works seem close to the Phigalean frieze, and that Zeuxis may have been the fount of inspiration in both cases. There is indeed no comic flavour in the Sisyphus painter to associate with Zeuxis, but this can hardly have been the taste of all his works; we may hope not of his 'Jupiter' <sup>6</sup> *magnificans in throno adstantibus dis.* Further, it is possible that in the want of power

that we have noticed in the Sisyphus painter's more dynamic works, we have the same defect that Aristotle found in Zeuxis, and which he called an entire lack of *ἡθος*.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, although there is no chain of arguments to prove the theory, there is, I think, good reason to believe that as in the works of the Meidias painter and his circle there is something preserved of the style of Parrhasius, so in some of the early South Italian vases we can trace the influence of Zeuxis, and this with most certainty in the Dolon vase.

I have now considered briefly the more important groups of early South Italian vases down to about 380 B.C. I am leaving aside all that seem to be provincial side-issues, off the main line of development, and I am not attempting to deal with the Phlyax vases.

Now Tillyard distinguished a certain number of vases on which the characteristics of style recognised respectively as 'Lucanian' and 'Apulian' appeared to be combined.<sup>8</sup> I do not here use the term 'Lucanian' as meaning provincial, though I have said that it will be best in the future to reserve that term for this use. But until quite lately all the vases that I have so far mentioned would be called Lucanian, if they were not classed as Attic, and what is ordinarily meant by the 'Lucanian' and 'Apulian' styles is well known. In this mixed group, which is called for convenience Lucano-Apulian, although the term has little meaning, there is a great increase in elaboration of composition and decoration, but the colouring remains sober, the heads are still large, and there is not yet that complete lightness that characterises the figures of the full-blown 'Apulian' style.

This group is of great significance; it will serve in the end to show that the so-called Lucanian and Apulian vases are, along the main line, all one fabric; that the development is con-

<sup>1</sup> See also Robert, *Hallisches Winkelmann's Programm*, xxii. *Kentaurenkampf*; but the marble painting from Herculaneum seems to go back rather to vases of the full 'Apulian' style, e.g. the Darius vase, than to these Centauromachies.

<sup>2</sup> Püchl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen*, ii. p. 681.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Pliny, *N.H.* xxxv. 64; Cicero, *De Invent. Rhet.* ii. 1. 1; and Eustathius, *ad Il.* p. 868.

<sup>4</sup> Lucian, *Zeuxis* 5.

<sup>5</sup> Pliny, *N.H.* xxxv. 64.

<sup>7</sup> *Poetics*, 6.

<sup>6</sup> Pliny, *N.H.* xxxv. 63.

<sup>8</sup> Tillyard, p. 15.

tinuous and traceable from the early South Italian vases, such as the works of the Sisyphus painter, through this intermediate stage, into the full-blown Apulian vases, such as the Darius vase. It is true that the appearance of the vases becomes greatly modified by increased elaboration of ornament, by the use of accessory colours and later by a change in the character of the figures, which are marked by the time we come to the Darius vase by extreme lightness and tallness. In a word, the style changes, but it is the same fabric. The changes come gradually, and one style merges into the other; on looking closely we see that in the principal scenes we have the same people but in new clothing, while the subsidiary figures proceed in continuous development and in the same guise throughout.

I can only indicate briefly a few of the examples that bear out this theory. I have mentioned the little figures on the necks of the volute-crater at Naples with the sacrifice of a goat, and the volute-crater at Brussels with Heracles driven to heaven. They appear again on the neck of a vase that belongs to the Lucano-Apulian class, the volute-crater with an Iliupersis in the British Museum (F 160).<sup>1</sup> They are just the same little people, but drawn here with more freedom and more exaggeration. Moreover, the principal figures are surely descended from the Sisyphus painter. Their fine clothes obscure this rather on the obverse, but look at the reverse (Fig. 9). Look too at another volute-crater in the British Museum, (F 283),<sup>2</sup> by the same hand as the Iliupersis vase, but a less elaborate work. I give its reverse also (Fig. 10). It is classed as Apulian; but except for the use of white for the figure in the heroön, there is nothing on the vase that diverges from the main line of South Italian vase-painting that we are considering. This vase is an early example of that most common subject,

mourners grouped around a heroön. But here the figures are not mere formulae as they become later, the drawing of the drapery is not entirely conventionalised as it becomes on vases with this subject in the full 'Apulian' style. The painter's style of drawing is distinctive, if dull. He uses a thickish, firm relief line. There is not a trace of the scratchiness we saw in the Dolon painter. Hands are summarily drawn, but are distinctive with their sharp-pointed fingers. The clay of vases by this painter is apt to be brown.

It has been suggested as an explanation of the persistent traditional character of the subsidiary figures on large elaborate vases, that they are not by the same hand as the main picture, that they are from the repertoire of local indigenous painters, while the main scenes are the work of Greek or Grecised artists.<sup>3</sup> On such vases as I have been able to examine I am certain that this is not the case.<sup>4</sup> I do not deny that new fashions, due perhaps to new influences, appear on the principal scenes, but contest that it is not a case of certain traditional figures being common to all the fabrics of South Italy, but that the 'Lucanian' and 'Apulian' styles, at any rate, are but phases of one fabric.

In shape and decoration the British Museum volute-crater F 283 is exceedingly close to the volute-crater at Naples with the sacrifice of Orestes,<sup>5</sup> which we have already mentioned.<sup>6</sup> The drawing too is not unakin, though it is weaker on the Naples vase. Assuming that the Orestes vase was painted about 370 B.C. we should get 380-370 as an approximate date for the beginning of the Lucano-Apulian style, and for the vases we are considering in particular. Very close, if not by the same hand, is a volute-crater in Naples (3228) which has on its obverse both a funereal and a mythical scene.<sup>7</sup> A woman, and a girl with dishevelled hair, are in attendance at a

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Zeit.* 1848, Pl. 118. Mansell 3265.

<sup>2</sup> Mansell 3269.

<sup>3</sup> Macchiuro, *Rom. Mitt.* xviii. (1912), p. 168, II.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. for instance all the profile heads on obverses and reverses of B.M. 160 and 283, particularly the head of Polyxena with

heads on the reverse. Cf. Ajax with the youth wearing a pilos on the reverse. Cf. the relief line and the drawing of the hands.

<sup>5</sup> Sommer 11051, 8 gives the shape.

<sup>6</sup> *Studia*, p. 40.

<sup>7</sup> Sommer 11052 (unfortunately not very clear).



FIG. 9. REVERSE OF VOLUIT-CRATER WITH ILIUPERSIS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, F 160.



FIG. 10. REVERSE OF VOLUIT-CRATER IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM, F 283.

heroön, in which is the figure of a nude warrior with shield and spear, painted white, and at the same time Achilles drags the body of Hector at his chariot wheels. Probably the two are connected in thought, and the figure in the heroön is Patroclus, but the two scenes are very clumsily put together on the same side of the vase. On the reverse the satyrs and maenads are full-sized versions of the ones on the neck of the Iliupersis vase. In shape it comes logically between B.M. 283 and the Iliupersis vase, the body being less triangular than the former, the neck not quite as high as the latter. Necks of volute-craters tend to become taller as time goes on, but the abnormal height of the neck of the Iliupersis vase and its almost equal division into two zones is, I think, exceptional.

Vases belonging to this group are:

*Volute-craters.*

1. B.M. F 283.
2. B.M. F 160.
3. Naples 3228.

Very near in style are:

*Hydriæ.*

Naples 2347, 1649, 664.

*Panathenaic Amphora.*

Naples 1949.

We can go a step further in following out our main line of development. There is an elaborate volute-crater in the Louvre, which would ordinarily be called Apulian (Pls. XV. and XVI.). In shape it is of the same proportions as the Achilles volute-crater at Naples that we have just been considering, but the scene painted on it is much richer and more elaborate. The subject is doubtful; it may be the same as on the fragment at the Hague where also the principal figures are an aged suppliant and a king. There the inscription makes it clear that we have Minos and Daedalus. But, as Beazley says, there is nothing to prove that the Louvre vase represents Minos

and Daedalus.<sup>1</sup> I suggest as an alternative Chryses begging Agamemnon for the release of Chryseis. She would be the woman with down-cast eyes standing behind the white-haired suppliant. Up above is an old man giving injunctions to a youth. Achilles and Phoenix, or possibly Calchas? It is true, though, that if this were the case one would expect Apollo rather than Athena.

Compared with the Iliupersis vase, there is not only more elaboration in the clothes, there is a difference in the style of drawing. There is a profuse use of little short hooked lines to indicate folds. On the earlier vase they are only sparingly used. Then we see that relief line is copiously used for emphasising curls, which gives a particularly rich effect. The painter is quite good. Look at the slave girl carrying away the water-pot and the negro boy with the chair but, as we predicted, it is individual figures that we are admiring, not the vase as a whole.

With its richness of ornament and transparency of drapery, this vase seems very far removed from the early style. Even among 'Apulian' vases it belongs to a particularly rich class. But on the neck are the same little figures that we know so well, only very much floppier and hastier than on our Lucano-Apulian group, and on the back the youths and women at a heroön are not essentially different from our earlier subsidiary figures; they are merely floppier, with fussier hair and tiresome drapery.

Without the subsidiary figures we should not perhaps have thought at first of bringing such a vase into direct line with the early South Italian style. Still less should we have included in the same line such a vase as the situla in the Villa Giulia with Pelops and CEnomaus, where there are no secondary figures to help us.<sup>2</sup> But it is, I am convinced, by the same hand actually as the vase in the Louvre. This nucleus should enable us in time to bring other vases of this rich style into our main line. And the next step from the

<sup>1</sup> *J. H. S. Mon.* (1927), p. 224, note 8, Pl. XXI.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.* *loc. cit.* p. 110.




Minos vase and the Villa Giulia situla is the Darius vase and its group,<sup>1</sup> and that is the full 'Apulian' style.

This imperfect account of the more prominent groups of early South Italian vases, with an indication of the later developments of the style, may serve to show the lines on which the history of the fabric could be further worked out.

The vexed question of the seat of the fabric is complicated, as I have said, by the lack of any trustworthy information as to the provenance of so many of the vases. Opinion outside Italy is mostly against Macchioro's theory that the home of the industry was at Ruvo.<sup>2</sup> Although many of the earliest vases were found at Ruvo this does not prove that they were made there. There is imported Attic ware at Ruvo. Moreover, the earliest South Italian vases are so near to Attic types that it is difficult to dissociate the beginnings of the industry from the Greek colonies. These beginnings have long been connected with the founding of Thurii in 443 B.C.<sup>3</sup> The theory cannot be supported actually from finds; very little has been found at Thurii at all; the fragments of vases found with the Timpone Grand Tablet are, I believe, in the Museum at Corigliano.<sup>4</sup> But we can still connect the foundation of Thurii with the beginnings of the industry without insisting that she was the actual seat of the industry.

Our knowledge of the distribution of the vases is, I repeat, very incomplete. But we do see that vases from the same workshop, and even from the same hand, turn up in quite different parts of South Italy. From this we can only conclude that wherever there were well-to-do people, these vases found their way. And if they

came from one centre, the weight of probability is on the side of Lenormant's theory, that the centre was Taranto. Later the industry probably spread to other centres, to inland towns of Lucania and Apulia, and perhaps to others of the Greek colonies. The claim of Taranto lies principally in the fact of her importance and prosperity during the early part of the life of the industry. A strong case has been made out for Ruvo on the ground of the finds, but the neighbourhood of Taranto is also rich, and, as I have said, I find it difficult to dissociate the beginnings of the industry from the Greek colonies. The  on the Phineus crater has been taken as a sign of an early industry at Heracleia.<sup>5</sup> In itself it is hardly evidence enough; it might be a wine mark. But Heracleia of all the Greek coast towns is geographically most closely associated with Armento and Anzi. Both of these I disqualify from being early seats of the industry, for the same reasons that have been urged against Ruvo. But that they were good markets is undoubted,<sup>6</sup> and while there is no direct evidence to prove that there was an industry at Heracleia, I judge from her position that she played an important part in the vase-traffic between Taranto and these two Lucanian towns. There is a natural route also between Anzi and Metapontum, but there is little evidence from finds that could point to an industry there. No vases of any importance are known to have come from the necropolis.<sup>7</sup> We therefore turn inevitably to Taranto, and we find then that historically and geographically her claim is the strongest. Whether the very first vases, *i.e.* the Pisticci group, were made there or at Thurii is unprovable and immaterial. But by the time we come to the Sisyphus painter and the Amykos painter we

<sup>1</sup> F.R. Pl. 88.

<sup>2</sup> *Rom. Mitt.* xxvii. (1912), p. 167.

<sup>3</sup> Furtwängler, *Masterpieces*, p. 110.

<sup>4</sup> Lenormant, *La Grande-Grèce*, i. p. 323.

<sup>5</sup> F.R.H. ii. p. 264.

<sup>6</sup> Some of the earliest vases have been found at Anzi and some good pieces belonging to the turn of the century come from Armento.

<sup>7</sup> There was once a little collection of antiquities from the neighbourhood kept at the station, including remains of sculpture from the metopes of the temple of Apollo Lykeios. See Lenormant, *À travers l'Apulie et la Lucanie*, vol. i. p. 360, but by the time Gissing went there it had been transferred to Naples, and I expect the objects would be difficult to trace. See Gissing, *By the Ionian Sea*, p. 65.



BELL-CRATER IN THE SOUTH KENSINGTON MUSEUM ATTRIBUTED TO THE SISYPHUS PAINTER





BELL-CRATER IN NEWCASTLE  
OBVERSE

BELL-CRATER IN THE HON. MARSHALL BROOKS COLLECTION  
OBVERSE



BELL-CRATER IN NEWCASTLE  
REVERSE

BELL-CRATER IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (F163)  
OBVERSE

BM (F163)  
REVERSE

VASES BY THE TARPORLEY PAINTER





VASE-FRAGMENT BELONGING TO MR. HIRSCH. AT GENEVA



BELL-CRATER IN DURHAM. OBVERSE  
THE DOLON PAINTER





VOLUTE-CRATER IN THE LOUVRE. OBTVERSE







VOLUTE-CRATER IN THE LOUVRE REVERSE



are dealing with an established industry, which must be connected with some important Greek town. The evidence of finds is stronger for Taranto than for any other of the Greek colonies; her size and wealth are important data, and the fact that vases made during the first thirty years of the industry have been found extensively both in Apulia and in the Basilicata. Therefore the position of Taranto, both social and geographical,

points to her as the first important seat of the industry.

Could the problem be conclusively solved, it would clearly be a point of considerable interest in the history of Magna Graecia, and further study of the vases, if moderate in aesthetic reward, should throw light on the condition and importance of the inland towns of Lucania and Apulia and of their relations with the Greek colonies.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I cannot sufficiently express my gratitude to Professor Beazley and Mr. Ashmole for the great assistance that they have constantly given me in writing this article.

# THE STOA OF HADRIAN AT ATHENS.

By M. A. Sisson

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- V. *Conjectural Historical Summary.*
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## I. INTRODUCTORY.

BECAUSE there exists no complete survey or accurate record of the important ruin of Roman date commonly known as the Stoa of Hadrian, it has seemed worth while to make a detailed examination and conjectural reconstruction of the remains in order to settle, if possible, the still disputed question of identity and, with the aid of relevant literary material, to throw further light on the purpose and history of the structure.

The ruin in question lies in the lower part of the modern town at the foot of the northern slope of the Acropolis and slightly to the north of the Roman Agora and the Gateway of Athena Archegetis. Between the streets of Ares and Aeolus

lofty walls, in part preserved, enclose on three sides a rectangular space, half of which has been excavated, revealing the foundations of an internal colonnade or stoa and various rooms, while the remainder is occupied by roads, houses, shops, barracks and a military prison. The wall on the fourth or southern side is unexcavated, but it is evident from the disposition of those now visible that the building was symmetrical about an axis running approximately east and west. The only entrance to the enclosure was in the west wall, which was of marble and decorated with columns of the Corinthian order. Of this façade only the northern half and one column of the entrance portico are now visible. On the north, east, and doubtless on the south, the area was enclosed by blank, rusticated walls of limestone. Much of the north wall is standing to its full height of 30' 0'', and projecting from it are the remains of three *exedrae*. The central portion of the east wall, which enclosed a series of rooms, stands to the same height and is strengthened by buttresses. In the centre of the site are the remains of a complex structure of various periods. The whole of the excavated area is strewn with architectural fragments and piles of broken marble blocks.

## II. PREVIOUS RECORDS.

During the last three centuries the ruins have been described by various observers, who have attempted to identify them with buildings known to have existed in ancient Athens, and have left records of certain portions since destroyed. Being situated in a city which has been inhabited continuously, the original structure has suffered

many changes and has been concealed by accretions of later date. Until excavation in recent times, only parts of the external walls and slight traces of the internal stoa and central structure could be seen among the superimposed buildings of Mediaeval and Turkish Athens.

The structure was incorporated in the so-called Wall of Valerian, in reality a rude fortification of the time of the Frankish Dukes of Athens, at which period the residence of the Polemarch was situated here.

The only relic of this time is an inscription giving the name of William de la Roche, a Canon of Athens in 1225, which was found inscribed on the wall.<sup>1</sup>

In later times the western part of the site inside the façade was occupied by the residence of the Voivode, or Turkish Governor of Athens.

About the year 1780 the Mosque, now used as a Museum, was built at the north end of the façade by the Turkish Governor, who, in order to provide the necessary lime, had overthrown one of the columns of the Olympieum.

Attached to the outside of the façade, and with its bell-turret on the entablature of the entrance portico, was the small domed Byzantine church of the Hagios Asomatos. This church was demolished in 1840, but a fresco belonging to it is still preserved on the antique wall.<sup>2</sup>

A drawing made in 1674 by Carrey, who had made records of the Parthenon sculptures for the Marquis de Nointel, entitled *Ruines d'un édifice antique d'Athènes*, shows three columns and entablature of the ancient portico with the church adjoining.<sup>3</sup>

In the centre of the site and incorporating parts of the earlier building on this spot, stood the domed church of the Megale Panagia, half-

buried owing to the rise in level of the surrounding ground, and entered by a flight of steps.<sup>4</sup>

George Wheler, who visited Athens in the seventeenth century with Dr. Spon of Lyons, and published an account of his travels in 1682,<sup>5</sup> made a drawing of the façade of the original building, which he took to be the *peribolos* of a temple, and endeavoured to identify it with the Temple of Zeus Olympius described by Pausanias in his itinerary. This opinion was also held by other travellers, including M. Le Roy, who in the eighteenth century published drawings of the façade and an inaccurate reconstruction of the building showing an imaginary temple of Zeus in the centre.<sup>6</sup>

In the years 1751-3 Stuart and Revett were in Athens and made, and afterwards published,<sup>7</sup> careful drawings of the façade, with details of its Order, and also a plan of the whole site showing such of the outer walls as were then visible above ground and the position of one column of an internal colonnade. They also recorded an arch and three columns of ancient date which were visible in the church of the Megale Panagia. At this time both *antae* and three columns with part of the pediment of the entrance portico were standing, and the column-bases and much of the wall to the south of the entrance still existed, so that the total extent of the front could be determined with accuracy. The remainder of the wall had been removed a short time before by the Turkish Governor to extend the prospect of his house. When Dodwell wrote in 1819, only one of the columns of the portico remained standing, as at present.<sup>8</sup>

Stuart and Revett proved conclusively that the structure was not the Olympieum, as held by Le Roy and others, and perceiving that it con-

<sup>1</sup> Δελτιον της 'Ιστορικης και 'Εθνολογικης 'Εταιρίας, Vol. II, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> Mommsen, *Athenae Christianae* (1868), p. 106.

<sup>3</sup> Laborde, *Athènes aux VI<sup>e</sup>, VII<sup>e</sup>, VIII<sup>e</sup> siècles*, Vol. I, p. 167. Omont, *Athènes au VIII<sup>e</sup> Siècle*, Pl. XX. (reproduction). The columns shown in Carrey's drawing were erroneously thought by Laborde and Mommsen to be those incorporated in the church of the Megale Panagia (see below).

<sup>4</sup> Mommsen, *At. Christ.* p. 112. Couchard, p. 13, Pl. III. (dome); Murray, *Handbook for Greece* (1884), Pt. I, p. 250.

<sup>5</sup> *A Journey into Greece* (1682), p. 391.

<sup>6</sup> *Les Ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce* (2nd edit., 1770). Pl. VI. and p. 13, Pl. XXII. and p. 46.

<sup>7</sup> *Antiquities of Athens*, Vol. I. (1762).

<sup>8</sup> *Tour through Greece* (1819), p. 377.

tained a stoa, they supposed it to be the celebrated Stoa Poikile. M. Le Roy, in a second edition of his work (1770), abandoned the view that the building was the Temple of Zeus, but, noticing the similarity in style of its façade to the Arch of Hadrian, which stands between the district of New Athens founded by that Emperor and the ancient city, he assumed that it was one of the other works of Hadrian mentioned by Pausanias, namely, the Temple of Hera.

The passage in which Pausanias describes the buildings erected by Hadrian in Athens is as follows: <sup>1</sup> 'Hadrian also built for the Athenians a Temple of Hera and Zeus Panhellenius, and a sanctuary common to all the Gods. But most splendid of all are the hundred columns of Phrygian stone. The walls are constructed as in stoas, and there are rooms adjacent with gilded ceiling and alabaster stone, and adorned, moreover, with statues and paintings. Books are stored in them. There is also a gymnasium named after Hadrian. It too has a hundred columns from the quarry in Libya.'

Chandler, writing in 1776, thought these buildings of Hadrian were all in New Athens and without any apparent evidence assumed this structure to be the Prytaneum, an identification adopted by others.<sup>2</sup>

William Wilkins, the architect, however, who in 1816 discussed the ruin,<sup>3</sup> observing that it was of Roman date and strikingly similar in style to the Arch of Hadrian, formed the opinion that it was one of the works of Hadrian referred to by Pausanias, but called it the Pantheon, or

enclosure sacred to all the Gods, which he supposed included the hundred columns of Phrygian marble, the Temple of Hera and Zeus, and a library.

In his work on Athenian topography, Col. Leake, in 1821,<sup>4</sup> identified this structure with the hundred-columned building containing the library, which he named the 'Stoa of Hadrian,' and thought it possible that the Pantheon and the Temple of Hera and Zeus stood within the enclosure, since antique remains were visible inside the church of the Megale Panagia. In support of his theory that this was the building containing a library, he adduced the fact that two busts of Roman date identified as Sophocles and Alcibiades, in the collection of Sir Richard Worsley who visited Athens in 1785, had been found among the ruins which were at that time thought to be those of the Prytaneum.<sup>5</sup>

The Greek historian Pittakis<sup>6</sup> in 1835 also described the structure as the 'Stoa of Hadrian,' and stated in confirmation that an inscription was found on part of it which he emended and reproduced as follows: <sup>7</sup>

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΝ  
ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΚΤΙΣΤΗΝ ΤΗΣ  
ΣΤΟΑΣ - - - - -  
ΑΔΡΙΑ[ΝΙΔΑΙ]

The emendation is improbable, since *κτιστῆς τῆς στοᾶς* is a phrase reserved for the founder of the Stoic Sect, and the inscription, since lost, was probably a forgery.

Pittakis also recorded the finding on the site

<sup>1</sup> Pausanias, i. 18, 9:—

'Αδριανὸς δὲ κατεσκευάσατο μὲν καὶ ἄλλα Ἀθηναίους, νόον Ἡρας καὶ Διὸς Πανελληνίου καὶ θεοῖς τοῖς πᾶσιν ἱερὸν κοινόν· τὰ δὲ ἐπιφανέστατα ἑκατὸν εἰσι κίονες Φρυγίου λίθου. πεποιήνται δὲ καὶ ταῖς στοαῖς κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ οἱ τοῦχοι. καὶ οἰκίματα ἐνταῦθα ἔστιν ὁρόφῳ τε ἐπιχρῶσθαι καὶ ἀλαβαστρῷ λίθῳ, πρὸς δὲ ἀγάλμασι κεκοσμημένα καὶ γραφαῖς. κατὰκειται δὲ ἐς αὐτὰ βιβλία. καὶ γυμνάσιον ἔστιν ἐπώνυμον Ἀδριανου. κίονες δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἑκατὸν λιθοτομίας τῆς Λιβύων. Schubart's emendation of ἑκατὸν εἰσι for ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι has been accepted, on account of καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἑκατὸν in the description of the gymnasium. Otherwise the reading of the MSS. has been

followed, except in the substitution of αὐτὰ for αὐτό, though ἐς αὐτό (in the building) would be a possible reading. Schubart's alteration of οἰκίματα - - - κεκοσμημένα to οἰκίμα - - - κεκοσμημένον, which seems needlessly far from the text, would merely refer to the attached building as a whole rather than to its component rooms.

<sup>2</sup> *Travels in Greece* (1776), p. 97.

<sup>3</sup> *Topography and Buildings of Athens*, 1816, p. 164.

<sup>4</sup> *Topography of Athens*, 1821, p. 120.

<sup>5</sup> *Mus. Wors.* (1824), pp. 51, 53; Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles*, p. 227, Nos. 2, 7.

<sup>6</sup> *L'Ancienne Athènes* (1835), p. 97. <sup>7</sup> *C.I.A.* III. i. 470.

of three columns of Hymettan marble, one of which had lately been taken to the church of S.S. Anargyres,<sup>1</sup> where it is no longer to be seen, and suggested that these had belonged to the stoa and had been painted to represent Phrygian marble, thus misleading Pausanias.

Early in the nineteenth century the eastern part of the site had been converted into a roofed market or bazaar, and embellished with a tower containing the clock presented by Lord Elgin in return for permission to remove certain marbles from the Acropolis.<sup>2</sup>

In 1885 this bazaar, including the clock (which had been replaced by a German substitute), was burnt: excavations were undertaken on its site by the Archaeological Society of Athens, and a plan and report published.<sup>3</sup> The Byzantine church of the Megale Panagia was demolished, disclosing the earlier building incorporated in it, and the foundations of an internal colonnade surrounding the enclosure and of a series of rooms at the east end of the site were discovered.

From the remaining traces of the colonnade now uncovered, it was possible to calculate that this had originally consisted of exactly a hundred columns, a fact which strongly supported the identification of the structure with that containing the hundred columns of Phrygian marble and stores of books described by Pausanias as the most splendid of Hadrian's gifts to Athens.

The 'Phrygian stone' referred to is the marble obtained from quarries at Synnada in Asia Minor. This varies in character, but the best-known kind is white veined with purple, and is now known as *paronazzetto*. The ancient quarries at Synnada, many of which have been discovered, were Imperial property and the marble was much favoured by the Romans for sumptuous buildings, especially in the second century A.D. Large quantities were used in the Villa of Hadrian at Tibur.

Since, however, no suitable columns of Phrygian marble have been found, and since the only ones noticed on the site during this or previous exploration were clearly of other materials, writers anxious to support this attribution have endeavoured in various ways to explain the lack of correspondence.<sup>4</sup>

Though generally known henceforth as the Stoa of Hadrian, it has been suggested that the structure might equally well be the Gymnasium,<sup>5</sup> described by Pausanias in the same passage as also containing a hundred columns, in this case of Libyan marble, and the question of the identification, which seems to have been based on a too-ready acceptance of inadequate evidence, requires further consideration.

### III. PRESENT SURVEY.

#### A. *Description of actual state* [1925].

An examination of the site is complicated by the superimposed buildings, the differences of level occasioned by partial excavation, and the absence of direct communication between the various sections. The excavated portion of the site and the enclosure outside the western façade contain large numbers of architectural fragments of all kinds and of various periods, including even a column-drum from the Parthenon hollowed out to form a basin. Many of these have been brought here for preservation from other sites in the neighbourhood and no records exist which would enable them to be distinguished. Careful examination and measurement lead to the rejection of much of this material on grounds of stylistic and dimensional incompatibility with the structural remains.

The level of the stylobate at the centre of the eastern side of the stoa has been taken as datum, and all heights are measured from this. This

<sup>1</sup> Mommsen, *At. Cl. st.*, p. 137.

<sup>2</sup> Murray, *loc. cit.* note, p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> Παπαμιχάλης ἐν Ἀθήναις Ἀρχαιολογικαὶ Ἐπιμετρίαι, 1885, p. 13 f., and Plan: 1886, p. 10 (Kumanudis).

<sup>4</sup> Pittakis, *op. cit.*, note 6, p. 52; Nicolaides, *Εδ. Ἀρχ.*, 1888, p. 57.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Curtius, *Stalage électorale en Athènes* (1861), p. 205.



level is the same as that of the floor of the entrance portico.

1. *Façade* (Plate XIX (a)).

This consists of a rusticated wall of Pentelic marble with a dado of large upright slabs. At the south end of the remaining portion, *i.e.* the centre of the façade when complete, are remains of a tetrastyle portico or propylon of the Corinthian order, approached by six steps. Of this the northern *anta* and one column with their capitals remain (Plate XVIII.). The column is of Pentelic marble and fluted, and has a lower diameter of 3' 0" and a height of 28' 0". The jambs of the actual doorway, of which one only remains, sloped towards each other in Hellenic fashion. In the dado on the left of the door are holes where slabs bearing inscriptions appear to have been fixed.

To the north of the entrance the wall is ornamented with seven free-standing monolithic columns. These are of the same dimensions as those of the portico, but are unfluted and stand on pedestals. The capitals and bases are of Pentelic marble and the shafts and pedestals of Carystian marble (*cippollino*). A peculiarity of the capital is that the angles of the *abacus* are not cut off, but continue to a point.<sup>1</sup> The entablature, which is 5' 6" high and consists of an architrave with only two fascias, a frieze and modillion cornice, breaks forward over each column. The total height from the floor level of the portico to the top of the cornice was 34' 0", and from the original ground level 37' 0".

At its northern end the façade is terminated by a projecting wing (*pteroma*). No traces of the southern half of the façade are now visible in the military prison which covers the site, but the total length, calculated from the general plan of the building, was 251' 6" over the *pteromata*.

Enough remains, with the help of the records

of Stuart and Revett,<sup>2</sup> to make an accurate reconstruction of the façade as high as the cornice, and also of the propylon. When Stuart and Revett surveyed the building both *antae*, three columns with entablature, and the tympanum of the pediment of the portico existed, and their drawings show that this must have been covered with a flat ceiling of wood or bronze. They were mistaken in giving the columns of the portico pedestals; the stylobate and steps were returned against the façade where marks of the steps can be seen on the wall.

In the upper surface of the wall and also above the columns are dowel-holes, showing that another course or courses of blocks once existed here and have been removed. From this fact and from the general resemblance of the façade to such structures as the Forum of Nerva in Rome, similarly ornamented with free-standing columns, it seems probable that the wall was originally surmounted by an attic, against which the roof of the propylon abutted. Moreover, in appearance the façade is obviously incomplete without such an attic. It is reasonable to suppose from their arrangement, which would be meaningless otherwise, that the columns carried either statues or sections of wall projecting from the Attic as in the Forum of Nerva. The former, lighter, treatment seems more in accordance with the general design and has been adopted in the reconstruction (Plate XXIII. (a)).

In style the closest analogy to this façade is the Arch of Hadrian,<sup>3</sup> so called from the inscriptions<sup>4</sup> it bears, near the Olympieum at Athens. The walling is of the same design in each and both are provided with similar free-standing columns on pedestals; both exhibit similar peculiarities in detail, as, for example, the absence of a third fascia in the architrave, and the style and detail of both are so exactly similar in character that there is every reason to suppose them to be of

<sup>1</sup> Illustrations of capitals: Stuart and Revett, see above. *Jahrbuch XXIX.* (1914), Taf. 4; Do. XXXVI. (1921), p. 44 ff.

<sup>2</sup> S. and R., Vol. I.

<sup>3</sup> S. and R., Vol. III. 19; Judeich, *Topographie von Athen* (1905), p. 340.

<sup>4</sup> *C.I.A.* iii. 401, 402.

the same date and most probably designed by the same architect.

Another structure which was of similar character and closely resembled the entrance portico in its arrangement is the propylon<sup>1</sup> in the northern wall of the *peribolos* of the Olympieum, a structure added to the sanctuary by Hadrian.

From these analogies and on general grounds of style the façade may be attributed to the first half of the second century A.D., and probably to the time of Hadrian.

## 2. Other External Walls.

These differ from the ornamental façade in material. They are composed of large rusticated



FIG. 1. EXTERIOR OF EAST WALL. BUTTRESSES AND TYPICAL MASONRY.

blocks of Piraeus limestone (*poros*), with draughted edges, laid in unequal courses without mortar and secured by iron dowels. The northern wall enclosing the stoa is 2' 2" in thickness and much of it stands to its full height of 30' 0" above datum level, crowned with a simple cornice. The walls and cornice of the three *exedrae* are similar in character but lower. The north wall is composed of a single thickness of *poros* blocks but in parts of the external walls of the rooms at the east end of the building, 3' 0" in thickness, the *poros* blocks are backed with brick-faced

concrete, only certain bonding-blocks extending through the thickness of the wall (Plate XX. (a)).

The crowning cornice of the northern wall is continued as a string-course on the eastern side, but the upper part of the wall above this level has been removed, apparently by design (Plate XIX. (b) and Fig. 1).

The only other example of this type of masonry in Athens is the retaining wall of the above-mentioned *peribolos* of the Olympieum,<sup>2</sup> which is also strengthened by buttresses similar to those on the east wall of this structure. The type is uncommon in Roman buildings in Europe though it occurs in the amphitheatre at Pola,<sup>3</sup> which probably dates from the second century A.D.

In Asia it is more frequently found, and an interesting example of its use is a granary, with an inscription recording its erection under Hadrian, at Andraki near Myra in Lycia.<sup>4</sup> In Syria examples are numerous; the type occurs in the Acropolis wall and in the external walls of the Odeum and the Nymphaeum at Amman (Philadelphia),<sup>5</sup> and in the small theatre and city walls at Jerash (Gerasa), all of which structures probably date from the second or third century A.D. As there are also examples thought to date from the time of Herod the Great in the citadel at Jerusalem and again in the walls of the Arab fortress built around the temples at Baalbek,<sup>6</sup> the type seems to have been long and particularly associated with Syria.

There do not appear to have been any entrances in the north, east or south walls of the building.

## 3. The Stoa (Plan, Pl. XVII.).

This occupied a rectangular space 317' 8" in length and 245' 0" in width, enclosed by the external walls and the series of rooms at the east end of the site. The foundations of the eastern colonnade of the stoa and portions of those on the north and south have been uncovered. The

<sup>1</sup> *Athen. Mitt.* xxxviii (1923), p. 182 ff., Taf. II, III.

<sup>2</sup> *Durm. Baukunst der Griechen*, p. 218, Abb. 168.

<sup>3</sup> *Durm. Baukunst der Römer und Röm.*, p. 680.

<sup>4</sup> *Reisen in S.H. Kleinmeister*, Wien, 1880, Vol. II.

<sup>5</sup> Syria, Princeton Univ. Archl. Expt., Dig. II., Sec. A, pp. 34, 50.

<sup>6</sup> *Bauwerk* (Weigand), Berlin, 1921, etc.

position of two columns inside the façade at the west end, shown on Dorpfeld's plan published with the report of the excavation, proves, as might in any case be assumed, that a stoa surrounded the area on all four sides. The columns were carried on large blocks of limestone, most of which remain, set in a continuous foundation of concrete. On these rested the stylobate of Pentelic marble slabs, 9" thick and 3' 4" wide, and in front was a step of the same material, 9" high, overlapped by the stylobate. One block of the stylobate and several of the step remain on the north side and a considerable length of both on the east side; the positions of the column-bases are shown by guide-lines and dowel-holes. In front is a rain-water drain covered with large slabs of limestone in which was cut a gutter 11" wide originally covered with a metal grating.

The pedestals carrying column-bases, which stand on the stylobate on the east and south sides, are irregularly spaced and set out with no relation to the original foundation blocks. They thus belong to a late rebuilding of the stoa (Plate XX. (b)).

No column-bases of the original stoa remain *in situ*, but the marks of fixing on the stylobate and the positions of the foundation blocks show that the east colonnade consisted of 22 columns, their centres 9' 6.2" apart and 23' 2" from the wall behind. The centres of the columns of the northern colonnade were 22' 7" from the external wall and by measurement are found to have been approximately 9' 4½" apart. The total length of the area is 317' 8"; allowing for the width of the stoa at each end, 23' 2" + 22' 7", the length of the colonnade on this side was 271' 11". This divided by 9' 4½" gives approximately 29, thus proving that there were 30 columns in the length. The total number of columns in the stoa was, therefore, 100.

No traces of the colonnade remain *in situ*, but the outlines of the bases on the remaining part of the stylobate show these to have varied in size from a square of 3' 0" to one of 3' 2". The one example on the north side, that of the fifth

column from the east end, shows the outline of a square of 3' 0" with a circle of 3' 0" diameter inscribed in it, which probably indicates the diameter of the lower *torus* of the column-base. From this evidence it would follow that the lower diameter of the column was at least 2' 0".

The positions of the beams which supported the roof of the stoa are shown by holes in the inner face of the north and west walls of the Court (Plate XVIII.). These holes, which correspond with the columns, are 1' 6" high and 1' 0" wide, and the under sides of the beams would have been 21' 6" above the stylobate. Allowing for the depth of the architrave, the height of the columns must therefore have been approximately 20' 0".

Among the numerous fragments of capitals, bases and columns remaining on the site, no two of which are alike and of which most can safely be discarded on grounds of workmanship and size, there are only two, the lower parts of two columns of Hymettan marble, lying in the central room at the east end of the site, which from their style might conceivably have formed part of the original colonnade. These differ slightly, the lower dimension of one being 1' 10½" and of the other 1' 11", and though the larger might have been suitable, the smaller would not, so they may be disregarded. Moreover, in view of the fact that the stoa was subsequently rebuilt, it is unlikely that any traces of the original columns would have remained.

It has been estimated that the height of the original columns was 20' 0", and the lower diameter 2' 0". Since this involves a column 10 diameters in height, it is likely that the order was Corinthian, and a conjectural order of this kind has been shown in the reconstruction (Plates XXII. (a) and XXIV. (b)). This would accord well with the style of the façade and with the taste of the second century A.D.

At the back of the stoa the inner face of the external walls was plastered and faced with marble slabs secured by clamps, the holes in which these were fixed being visible in the north wall. Bronze

clamps are said to have been found,<sup>1</sup> and some of the holes still contain the lead in which these were set.

The stoa was probably ceiled at the level of the beams, since no holes for the attachment of marble facing exist above this. There is no evidence to show the nature of the floor of the stoa, and the level here is now lower than the stylobate.

As noticed above, at a later period the stoa was completely rebuilt with columns standing on pedestals. Of these pedestals six are visible on the east side and three are now embedded in the retaining wall on the south. They are spaced at shorter intervals than the original columns, so that, as rebuilt, there would have been 24 columns in the east colonnade and probably 32 in the south. The pedestals on the east side are 1' 10" to 1' 11" high, 2' 8" to 2' 10" square, and are of Pentelic marble. All are different, and of very rough workmanship, with simple chamfers instead of mouldings. The three on the south side are of Hymettan marble, 1' 11½" high and 2' 10" to 3' 1½" square. They are of better workmanship than the others, but vary in detail and were doubtless re-used material. Those on the east side support Attic bases of varying size and very poor workmanship, designed for columns with a diameter (below the *apophyge*) of from 1' 8½" to 1' 11". Lying near are the fragments of the lower parts of three of the columns. These are of *cippolino* with a diameter of 1' 8½" above the *apophyge* and 1' 11" below, and when the site was excavated, one of them was standing *in situ*.<sup>2</sup> These columns, though they vary in size, are of better workmanship than the pedestals and bases, and seem to have been old material re-used.

The columns seen before excavation by Stuart and Revett, Leake, Pittakis and other observers belonged in all probability to this rebuilding of the stoa.

It is difficult to assign a date to this rebuilding on grounds of style, since the work consists partly of re-used material; but the very rough workmanship of the new pedestals and bases suggests a time not earlier than the beginning of the fourth century A.D.

#### 4. *Exedrae*.

Of the three *exedrae* opening out of the stoa on the north side (and it may be assumed from the symmetrical form of the building that similar recesses existed on the south side), the central was rectangular and the others semicircular. Little is left of the westernmost, but much of the walls of the central and easternmost remains, and the original arrangement can best be studied in the last, which has been cleared. This was 32' 3" in diameter and separated from the stoa by a screen of two columns carrying the upper part of the main external wall across the opening. Two blocks of the stylobate of Pentelic marble on which these columns stood remain in position 9" above that of the stoa and rest on *pors* foundation blocks. On the first block the position of the base of a square *anta* is clearly marked by a roughened area 2' 9½" square in which are two dowel-holes. Nothing remains to show the position of the columns, though it is evident from the width of the opening that there were two; nor is there evidence as to their material or character. At each side of the opening of the *exedra* a respond 16" wide projected from the stone wall, and the *anta*, which would have been of marble, was fixed against this. Allowing 3" for the thickness of plaster and the marble veneer on each side of this 16" projection, it can be seen that the *anta* must have been rather more than 1' 10" square.

The outer wall of the *exedra* is crowned with a cornice like that of the stoa wall and in the upper surface are sinkings in which the ceiling beams rested, 12" wide, 1' 9" apart and 20' 0"

<sup>1</sup> Περικλῆς, *loc. cit.*, note 3, p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Περικλῆς, see above: Frazer, *Pausanias*, Vol. V, Addenda, p. 492.

above the level of the floor and stylobate. Internally the wall was faced with marble, as in the stoa, and portions of the preliminary coating of plaster, composed of brick-dust and lime, still remain. Nicolaides<sup>1</sup> states that he found a piece of white marble skirting in position in this *exedra*, and above it a slab of 'Phrygian' marble fastened with bronze nails. These are no longer visible, and since the same writer calls the *cippollino* columns of the façade 'Phrygian' marble, it is probable that the slab referred to was also *cippollino*. No trace of the floor of the *exedra* is visible.

#### 5. Central Area.

In the court enclosed by the stoa is a structure of totally different character. Though placed on the axis of the main building (there is an error of 5'') the style and construction show it to be of a later date. Underneath are traces of a tank or reservoir with a semicircular end, also on the axis of the main building but filled in and obliterated when the superimposed building was constructed. Both could not have been in use simultaneously, since they are unrelated except in so far as both are axial with the stoa.

The walls of the reservoir are of concrete faced with mortar, both materials being similar in composition to those employed in the main building. In view of this fact, and its axuality, there is every reason to suppose that it is an integral part of the original design of the stoa. Some writers, assuming part of the superimposed structure to be contemporary with the stoa, have been forced to assign a still earlier date to the reservoir, but there is nothing in its construction to support this view, and it is, moreover, most unlikely that the orientation and dimensions of the stoa would have been dictated by the form of an existing tank. The western part of the reservoir is unexcavated, but the shape and position of the visible remains suggest that the whole was symmetrical and that it served as an ornamental pool. It is likely that, as was customary in stoas, the

court was laid out as a garden, planted with trees and ornamented with sculpture.

#### 6. Eastern Rooms.

On the east side of the stoa is a series of rooms of various sizes of which the lower parts of the walls remain. The central room is the largest and adjoining it on either side are exactly similar wings each containing two large and two small rooms (Plate XVII.). As stated above, the external walls of these rooms are 3' 0'' in thickness and are built in part of *poros* and in part of *poros* backed with brick-faced concrete (Plate XX. (a)). This last is an unusual form of construction, also employed in the walls of the Odeum of Herodes Atticus in Athens.<sup>2</sup> The internal walls separating the rooms are of brick-faced concrete of characteristic Roman type standing on concrete foundations, and where openings occur the jambs are of stone. The thinness of the walls and the lack of abutment show that these rooms could not have been vaulted but must have been roofed with wooden trusses, below which were probably coffered ceilings of wood or bronze. Trusses of these spans (the largest is 51' 9'') were quite familiar to the Romans. This structure appears to be the first, and except for the Odeum, almost the only known case in Athens where the usual Roman construction of concrete faced with brick has been employed.

#### (a) Central Room.

This room, 76' 4'' long and 51' 9'' broad, was entered from the stoa by five openings, as is shown by the remaining foundation-blocks, which are evidently designed to support piers or columns and not a continuous wall. On the other three sides of the room the walls, 3' 0'' thick above, are widened to 8' 0'' below, thus forming on the inside a projecting plinth 5' 0'' wide, its upper surface 5' 3'' above datum level. This is constructed of brick-faced concrete and along the

<sup>1</sup> *Εφ. 'Αρχ.*, loc. cit., note 4, p. 53.

<sup>2</sup> Judeich, *Top. von Athen*, p. 291

outer edge is a line of stone blocks well bonded into the mass (Plate XX. (a) and Fig. 2).

In the eastern wall, which stands to a height of 25' 0" above the plinth, are nine recesses 1' 8" deep. The central recess, 7' 8" wide, originally had a semicircular head. On each side are four others of rectangular shape 4' 0" wide, 9' 3" high, and evenly spaced. At a height of 18' 5" above the plinth is a second row of recesses exactly above those below and of the same width. These are incomplete, and their height cannot be

exist below several of these recesses, and on their faces and on the wall below are marks showing that pilasters were attached, one between each of the lower recesses. Slight traces of similar marks on the wall between the upper recesses suggest that another range of pilasters existed at this level. Under each of the pilasters was a stone foundation-block embedded in the concrete of the plinth; several of these remain. None of the actual paving of the plinth and no column-bases remain *in situ*, but the line of stone blocks



FIG. 2. INTERIOR OF EAST WALL. PLINTH AND RECESSES IN CENTRAL ROOM.

determined, since the upper part of the wall has been destroyed. To counteract the weakening effect of these recesses, the external wall is strengthened by six buttresses (Plate XIX. (b) and Fig. 1). Internally, the wall and the front of the plinth were faced with marble.

Between the two rows of recesses and at a height of 13' 5" above the plinth are small recesses similar to those generally found in Roman buildings where the entablatures of an applied order of columns were attached to and embedded in the wall. The marble bed-stones, 12" deep, on which the ends of the entablature rested still

indicates that columns probably stood along the edge of the plinth.

In a heap of broken marble blocks in the room adjoining on the south are numerous fragments of small columns of Phrygian marble or *parian*. The diameters of the fragments vary from 1' 1" to 1' 5", and from this fact it seems likely that these belonged to more than one order; but since they are in such a fragmentary condition it is impossible to discover the exact original dimensions of the columns. Two fragments showing square dowel-holes remain, one of which was approximately 1' 3" in diameter,

the other  $1' 1\frac{1}{2}''$ , but as the *apophyge* is broken off, it is uncertain whether they are the upper or lower ends of columns.

Since the columns which presumably stood on the plinth of the central room must have been about  $13' 0''$  high, it is likely that some of these fragments, *i.e.* those with a diameter of  $1' 5''$ , which is nearly one-ninth of a column  $13'$  high and a suitable proportion for an Ionic order, belong to them. The fragments with a less diameter may be remains of a superimposed order of smaller columns.

The north and south walls of the room, which were probably constructed of brick and concrete, have been destroyed above the level of the plinth, but it is evident from the continuity of this last that the same system of recesses and columns existed on all three sides. There would have been room for seven similar recesses,  $4' 0''$  wide, on the north and south sides.

As to the purpose of this room, the unusual arrangement and regularity of the recesses make it unlikely that these were purely ornamental or filled with statues, and the width and continuity of the plinth indicate that this was designed to give access to the recesses.

The upper row of recesses evidently served the same purpose as those below, and might have been reached from a gallery supported on the columns which seem to have stood on the plinth.

The differences in the arrangement of structures superficially similar, but in which the niches and columns were purely decorative, such as the scenes of theatres, can conveniently be studied in Athens in the Odeum of Herodes Atticus, which is closely related in construction and date. In the *scena* of this building the niches are alternately rectangular and semicircular, the ornamental columns were grouped and not regularly spaced, and the narrower plinth is broken accordingly.

By far the closest analogy to the room under consideration is the Library of Celsus at Ephesus,<sup>1</sup> excavated in recent years by the Austrian Archae-

ological Institute, and a comparison of the two makes it evident that both were designed to serve the same purpose. The purpose and date (106 A.D.) of the Ephesian library are known from an inscription; it was built as a memorial, and the tomb and sarcophagus of the donor, Ti. Julius Celsus Polemaeanus, remain in a vault underneath.

There the arrangement is almost exactly the same, but the room is smaller ( $16.72 \times 10.92$  m.), the plinth somewhat narrower ( $1.20$  m.) and lower ( $1.0$  m.), and there are only ten rectangular recesses, four on the long wall and three on the side walls. These are of the same depth as those in the Athenian example, but smaller ( $2.80 \times 1.0$  m.) and spaced at wider intervals. In the centre of the long wall is a large semicircular niche. The room is entered by three doors in the opposite wall; above these were windows and the wall was ornamented externally with two stories of columnar decoration.

On the plinth are traces of a continuous colonnade of evenly-spaced columns which carried a gallery giving access to an upper row of recesses similar to those below. Holes in the wall like those in the Athenian room, opposite each column, show that the colonnade was attached to the wall by sections of entablature which carried the floor-slabs of the gallery.

The original height of the room is supplied by a reconstruction of the façade, and from this it is assumed that a second gallery and a third tier of recesses existed.

Between the inner wall containing the recesses and an outer wall is a narrow space in which stairs lead on one side down to the tomb-chamber, and on the other originally gave access to the gallery. This narrow space also served to protect the library from damp, a precaution less necessary in the drier atmosphere of Athens.

The books were stored in the rectangular recesses; in these were doubtless fixed wooden cases lined with shelves and closed in front with

<sup>1</sup> *Jahreshefte*, VII. (1904), Beib. 53; VIII. (1905), Beib. 61 (Restoration); VIII. p. 234 (Celsus); IX. (1906), Beib. 59;

XI. (1908), p. 118 (façade).

doors. It is significant that although in both rooms the walls were faced with marble, the holes left by the clamps being clearly visible, the interiors of the recesses were not so treated.

These cases may correspond with those referred to as *armaria*,<sup>1</sup> by Pliny, who also mentioned the placing of books in walls, and by Vopiscus, Sidonius Apollinarius and others. Seneca<sup>2</sup> uses the word *loculamenta* in connection with the storage of books, Juvenal<sup>3</sup> speaks of *foruli* and Martial<sup>4</sup> of *nidi*, which seems to refer to shelves or pigeon-holes. The papyrus rolls would have been stored on these shelves.

In the Hellenistic library of Pergamon the books were stored in cases which stood on a base of stone standing free from the walls of the room and in plan shaped like the letter E. A natural development of this arrangement would be a plan with the cases set against the wall or in recesses, if a more monumental architectural effect was required.

In small libraries, such as that discovered in a private villa at Herculaneum, the rolls, in this instance still preserved, were stored in a detached case or *armarium* standing on the floor.

According to ancient authors<sup>5</sup> libraries were sometimes ornamented with statues and busts of famous writers, and the most usual feature of this kind appears to have been a figure of Minerva. Juvenal<sup>6</sup> mentions this as if it were characteristic, and one was discovered in the library at Pergamon.<sup>7</sup> It is usually assumed that the large central niche in the library at Ephesus contained a figure of Minerva, and it is reasonable to suppose that the corresponding but shallower arched central recesses in the room at Athens served a similar purpose.

In this connection it may be stated that the

two female torsos with figured cuirasses, identified as personifications of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, which have been used sometimes as evidence that this building was a library, were not found on this site but near the Stoa of Attalos.<sup>8</sup>

Strikingly similar to those at Ephesus and Athens is a large room opening from the south side of the *palaestra* of the Baths of Caracalla at Rome,<sup>9</sup> which is generally assumed to be a library by analogy with the Ephesian example. As in this, the same large niche, recesses and traces of galleries are apparent, and there is a staircase at each end to give access to galleries. The recesses, as in the other examples, were not faced with marble as was the wall around, and they are too shallow in proportion to their size to have been designed to contain statues. In this example the lower recesses are approached by steps which here take the place of the plinth.

This library, like that at Athens, was only divided from the stoa which adjoins it by a screen of columns or piers. At Ephesus, where the library was entered directly from an open public place, a wall and doors were necessary.

A fourth example of this type is the library at Timgad, thought to date from the third century A.D.<sup>10</sup> Here the plan is different, but the arrangement of the recesses and steps giving access to them is the same as in the preceding example, also of the third century. Fragments of a statue of Minerva have been found near by, and this may have stood in the central niche.

According to Vitruvius,<sup>11</sup> libraries should face east to prevent the books from putrefying: of these four rooms, that at Ephesus faces east, that in the Baths of Caracalla north-east, and those at Athens and Timgad west.

From a fragment of the Marble Plan of Rome,<sup>12</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Armaria*: Plin. *Ep.* ii. 17; Vopisc. *Tac.* 8. 1; Sid. Ap. *Ep.* ii. 9; Ulp. *Dig.* xxxii. 52. § 3. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Sen. *Tranq. an.* 9.

<sup>3</sup> Juv. iii. 219.

<sup>4</sup> Mart. i. 117, vii. 17.

<sup>5</sup> Plin. *Nat. Hist.* xxxv. 9; Suet. *Tib.* 74.

<sup>6</sup> Juv. iii. 219.

<sup>7</sup> Berlin, *Sitzungsberichte*, 1893, p. 207.

<sup>8</sup> Treu, *Athen. Mitt.* xiv. p. 161 (1886).

<sup>9</sup> *Not. Scav.* 1912, p. 300.

<sup>10</sup> Cagnat, *Les Bibliothèques Municipales dans l'Empire Romain*; *Mém. Acad. Inscr. et Belles Lettres*, xxxviii.

<sup>11</sup> Vitruvius, vi. 7 and 10.

<sup>12</sup> Jordan, *Forma Urbis Romae*, Pl. III.



it appears that the two rooms, one on either side of the court containing the Column of Trajan, which are supposed to have contained the Bibliotheca Ulpia, were provided with a system of columns and galleries similar to those described above.

It thus appears certain, by analogy, that the room at Athens was a library, and that the recesses were designed for the storage of books, the upper row being reached by a gallery.

Similarly by analogy it seems likely that a second gallery and third tier of book-cases originally existed. This arrangement would have necessitated a height for the room of at least 50' 0'', which would have been in accordance with Roman usage, and it has been adopted in the conjectural reconstruction (Plate XXIV. (a)). As thus restored, the room would have contained about 60 book-cases.

It is probable that, as at Ephesus, the room was lit by windows in the wall facing the book-cases.

(b.) *Side Wings.*

These are exactly similar, and each contains four rooms. Adjoining the library are two rooms 35' 0'' square, one on either side (Plate XVII.). These, like the library, were divided from the stoa by columns or piers. Out of each of these rooms a door leads into a smaller room behind, and from this again doors lead on one side into a second room of the same size and on the other into the large room at the end of the block.

The plan of 1885<sup>1</sup> shows in the southernmost of these small rooms a curious structure resembling a counter, just inside the doorway leading to the square room, but no trace of this is now visible. Its position across the doorway precludes the possibility of its having been a latrine.

These rooms all show traces of a surface decoration of marble, and in the corner of one of

the smaller rooms on the south, marble slabs remain *in situ* on a ground of plaster.

At each end of the block is a larger room 51' 6'' × 48' 0'', and these, unlike the other rooms, are separated from the stoa by a wall. They are entered by doors from the stoa and from the adjoining rooms; in the room at the south end parts of the original marble jambs and thresholds of these doors remain.

In the northernmost room, completely excavated, are remains of three sloping foundation-walls which have given rise to a theory that this was a lecture theatre with inclined tiers of seats.<sup>2</sup> Although from modern instances lecture theatres might be looked for in close proximity to a library, their existence in this position in ancient times is improbable, since it is known that the sophists and professors of Athens lectured in private theatres attached to their houses.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, the inferiority of the construction of these rubble foundation-walls indicates that they are probably of later date than the original building.

One block of marble paving 11½'' above the datum level remains in this room.

It is probable that there was an upper story above the smaller rooms of this block, since it is unlikely that these would have been the same height as the larger, and the uniform thickness of the walls indicates a uniform total height for the building. The upper floor and the galleries of the library may have been reached by wooden staircases in the small rooms.

B. *Conjectural Reconstruction* (Plates XXI.–XXIV.).

The reconstruction is designed to show the structure in its original state before alteration and is based primarily on the material evidences of plan and standing walls described in detail in the preceding section. Where no definite evidence of this kind exists, and in the case of the internal

<sup>1</sup> Πρακτικά, see above.

<sup>2</sup> Judeich, *Top. von Athen*, p. 334 and plan; Weller, *Athens and its Monuments*, p. 145.

<sup>3</sup> Schemmel, *Die Hochschule von Athen: Neue Jahrbücher für das Klass. Altertum*, xxii. (1909), p. 494.

decoration, it has been completed by the inclusion of what, from the remains and by analogy, may reasonably be assumed to have existed, the intention being to indicate the probable general character of the structure.

It is interesting to observe in relation to the reconstruction that the general form of the building is Hellenistic and that, apart from the brick-faced concrete of the internal walls, there are few traces of typical Roman construction. The economy of material and lightness of construction throughout are remarkable, the workmanship is good and the levels are set out with great accuracy.

The ornament was concentrated on the rich façade and on the interior, while the remaining walls, devoid of apertures, were fortress-like in their austerity.

In plan the building closely resembles the *Porticus Liviae*,<sup>1</sup> erected by Augustus on the Esquiline at Rome, as shown on a fragment of the Marble Plan; here the arrangement of *exedrae* was similar and in the centre of the court were a pool and fountain. It is not unlikely that the architect of the building in Athens took as his model a well-known building of the same type in Rome.

### C. Identification and Purpose.

It remains now to discover the identity of this structure consisting of a stoa of a hundred columns, *exedrae* for retirement and conversation, a garden ornamented by a pool, and a series of large rooms, one of which at least probably contained books.

The association of this building with the storage of books is further confirmed by an inscription which was found on the outside of the façade, near the entrance and about 20' 0" above the floor level. This was apparently carved by order of a librarian in the fifth century.<sup>2</sup> It is treated in greater detail below.

Although numerous dedications to Hadrian one of which is still to be seen in the court, have been recorded as existing on this site, they cannot be accepted as reliable evidence for a definite connection with that emperor since at the time when they were published the area was used as a store for inscriptions from various sources.<sup>3</sup>

The probable Hadrianic date of the structure and its stylistic similarity to certain buildings of Hadrian in Athens have, however, already been emphasised, and there is good reason to connect it with one of the two buildings containing a hundred columns described as works of that emperor by Pausanias.

Of these, one was the gymnasium which has been identified by some writers with this structure. In addition to the fact that the present building contained a library, its plan is unlike that of any known gymnasium. It contains too few rooms and those that exist are not suited in arrangement or form to the special requirements of a gymnasium. There is no evidence for the existence of any washing rooms or system of baths. The ornamental pool in the centre of the court would also have interfered with the use of this as a *palaestra*.

Pausanias says of the other building: 'But most splendid of all are one hundred columns of Phrygian stone. The walls are constructed as in stoas and there are rooms adjacent with gilded ceiling and alabaster stone and adorned with statues and paintings. Books are stored in them.' In this case the correspondence is sufficiently marked in the light of the foregoing examination to make identification certain.

It has already been noticed that no traces of the columns of Phrygian marble remain, but since the original stoa was rebuilt the nature of its columns is never likely to be known. The removal of these columns, however, while those

<sup>1</sup> Jordan, *Forma Urbis Romae*, Pl. II.; *Bull. Comm.* 1886, p. 270; *Rom. Mitt.* 1880, p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> *C.I.A.* III. i. 637 (see below).

<sup>3</sup> *C.I.A.* III. 473, 474, 509, 513, 516, 518 (dedications to

Hadrian). For the same reason the dedications to Dexippus, the historian of the Gothic invasion of 260 A.D. (*C.I.A.* III. i. 716, 717), have no certain bearing on the literary associations of the building.

of commonplace Hymettan marble in the Roman Agora<sup>1</sup> close by and subject to much the same conditions remain, points to their having been made of some more precious material and in consequence removed for re-erection elsewhere.

The phrase *πεποιήνται δὲ καὶ ταῖς στοαῖς κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ οἱ τοῖχοι*, translated as 'the walls are constructed as in stoas,' has been taken to mean that the walls were of the same material as the columns, but this is unlikely, since *στοά* denotes a structure comprising both columns and wall, and would not be applied to 'columns' alone. The expression probably means only that the arrangement was that of a stoa, though it may have been Pausanias' way of describing the façade with its free-standing columns.

The rooms at the east end were those decorated with gilded ceilings, alabaster and statues and paintings. It has already been shown that these were probably covered with coffered ceilings, that they were lined with marble or some other precious material, and ornamented with statues; and that one of them was designed for the storage of books.

This building was doubtless that referred to by Jerome in the following passage:<sup>2</sup>

'Hadrianus cum insignes et plurimas aedes Athenis fecisset, agonem edidit bibliothecamque miri operis extruxit.'

#### D. Purpose further defined.

The inscription, referred to above, found on the west side of the west wall near the entrance to the building, and about 20' 0" above the original floor level, consists of two hexameter

verses, and was apparently carved by order of a librarian (*μυθῶν ταμίης*) in honour of a proconsul (*ὑπαρχος*) of Achaea in the early years of the fifth century.<sup>3</sup> It reads as follows:

τῶν θεσμῶν ταμίην Ἑρκούλιον, ἀγνὸν ὑπαρχον,  
Πλούταρχος μυθῶν ταμίης ἔστησε σοφιστῆς.

The words *μυθῶν ταμίης*, though very appropriate as the title of the librarian of a building 'where books are stored,' seems to be used to mark the antithesis of *θεσμῶν ταμίης*, a translation of the Latin '*conservator decretorum*' which is not a purely complimentary title, but denotes at this period actual custody of state documents.<sup>4</sup> In that case Hercules would be connected with the library not merely as a patron of letters, but as the *ταμίης* of another department in the same building. The title was the usual one in municipal libraries, and gave its name to the secretarial department, or *ταμιακὸν τάβλεινον* (*tablinum*). So at least it was called in Hadrian's Library at Alexandria, which was built about the same time as this Stoa, or a little earlier. It is mentioned as already existing in a papyrus dated in the eleventh year of Hadrian, 127 A.D., while the building in Athens was probably planned during Hadrian's first visit in 125, and dedicated during the second visit, in 130.<sup>5</sup>

There is reason to believe that the building in Athens 'where books were stored' was not the gift of mere benevolence, but formed part of a general scheme of centralisation, and fulfilled for this province of Achaea the same purpose as ἡ Ἀδριάνου βιβλιοθήκη<sup>6</sup> in Alexandria did for Egypt.

It is known that the Library of Hadrian in

<sup>1</sup> Περικτιζή, 1879, p. 15; Do., 1890, p. 108 and plan; Judeich, p. 330.

<sup>2</sup> Eusebii Chronici Canones (Latine vertit Hieronymus), cxxvii, Olymp. Cf. M. A. Cassiodorus, *Chron. Hadr.*; Aristides, *Or.* xiii. Vol. I. p. 306 (Dindorf).

<sup>3</sup> *C.I.A.* III. i. 637. Hercules was evidently the governor of the province of Achaea in the diocese of Macedonia, who was of higher rank than most provincial governors in this period, and bore the title of Proconsul. *I. Miller, Essays on the Latin Orient*, p. 20. The same man was praetorian prefect (ἐπαρχος) of Illyricum later, in 408-412. There is no need to assume a

confusion between the two titles as the editors of the Corpus suggest. See also *C.I.A.* III. i. 638.

<sup>4</sup> In the *Gesta in Senatu de recipiendo Codice Theodosiano* the praefectus urbis at Rome is hailed as *conservator legum, conservator decretorum*. The provincial governor of Achaea would probably be in much the same position at Athens. In *C.I.A.* III. i. 638, Hercules is called *πρόμυχος θεσμῶν*, which corresponds with the Latin *conservator legum*.

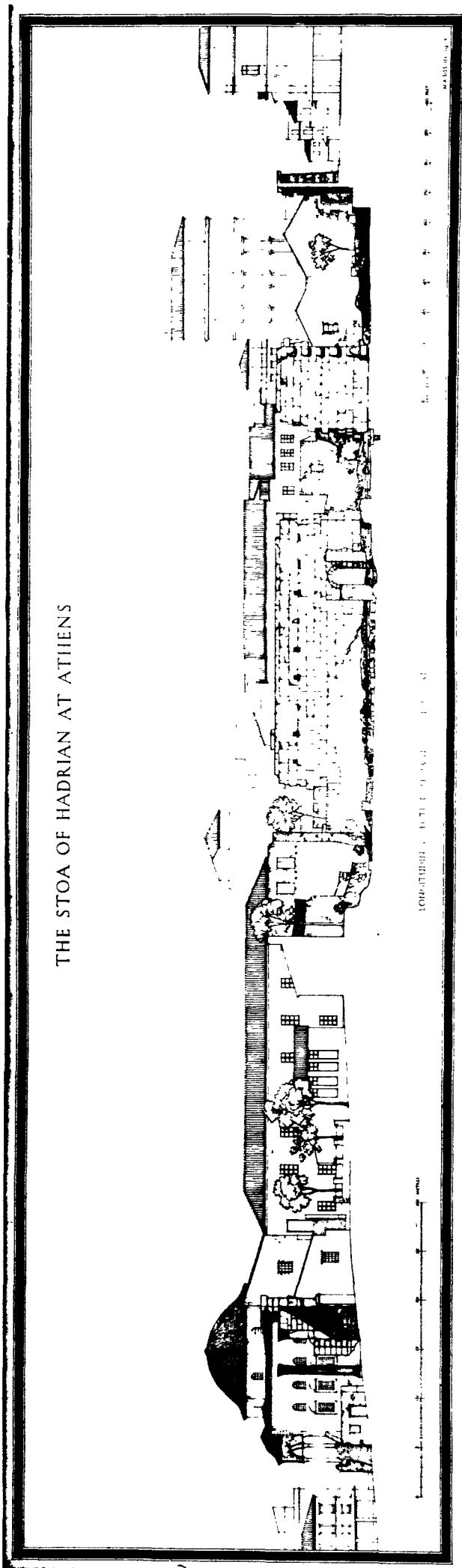
<sup>5</sup> *Vita Hadriani*, 13. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Oxyrhynchus Papyrus XXXIV.





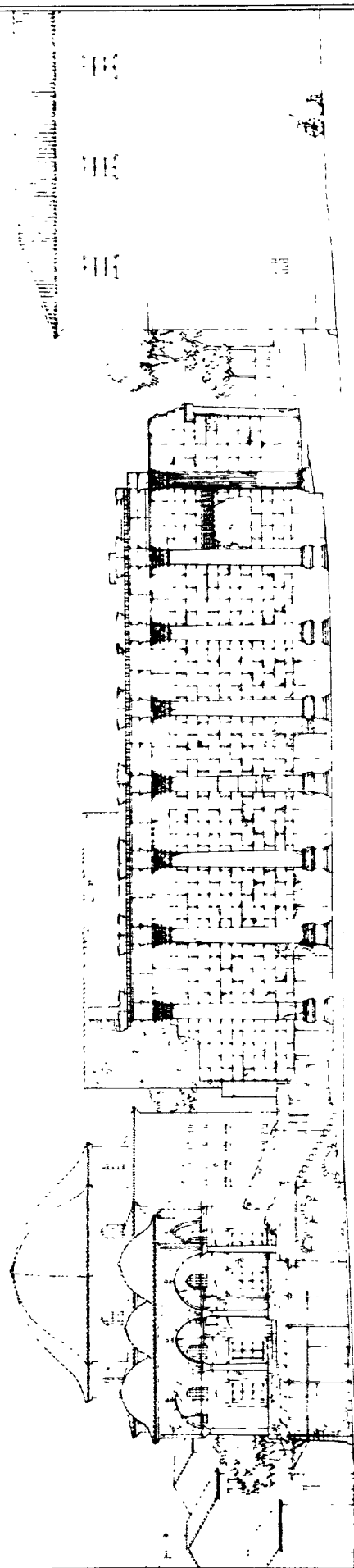
THE STOA OF HADRIAN AT ATHENS



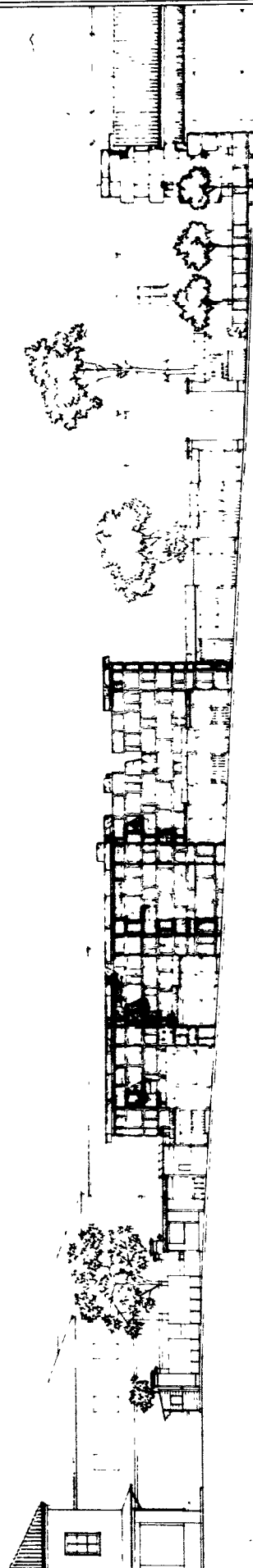
THE STOA OF HADRIAN AT ATHENS  
ACTUAL STATE. LONGITUDINAL SECTION



# THE STOA OF HADRIAN AT ATHENS



WEST ELEVATION - ACTUAL STATE



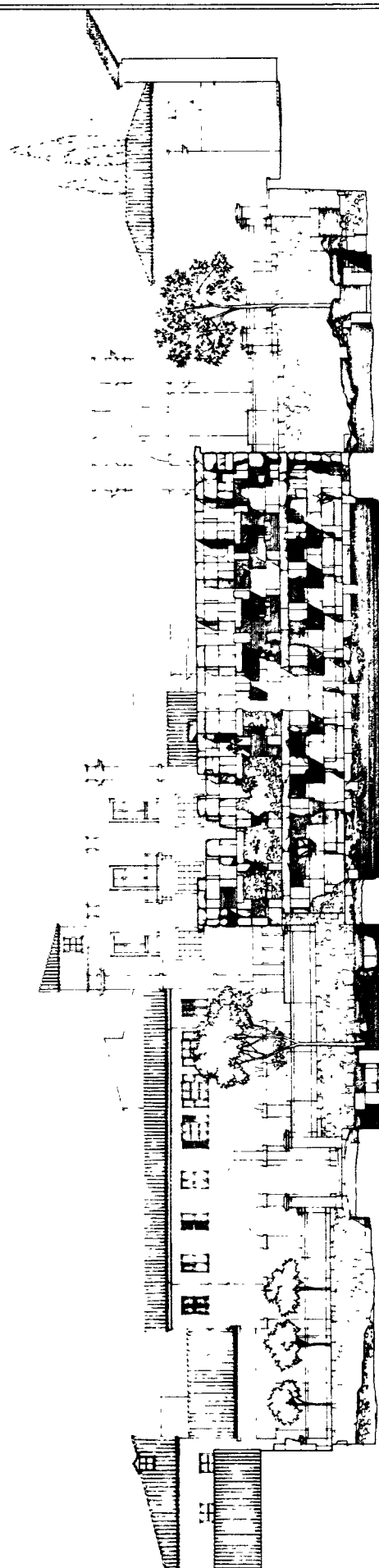
EAST ELEVATION - ACTUAL STATE

THE STOA OF HADRIAN AT ATHENS  
ACTUAL STATE (A) WEST ELEVATION (B) EAST ELEVATION

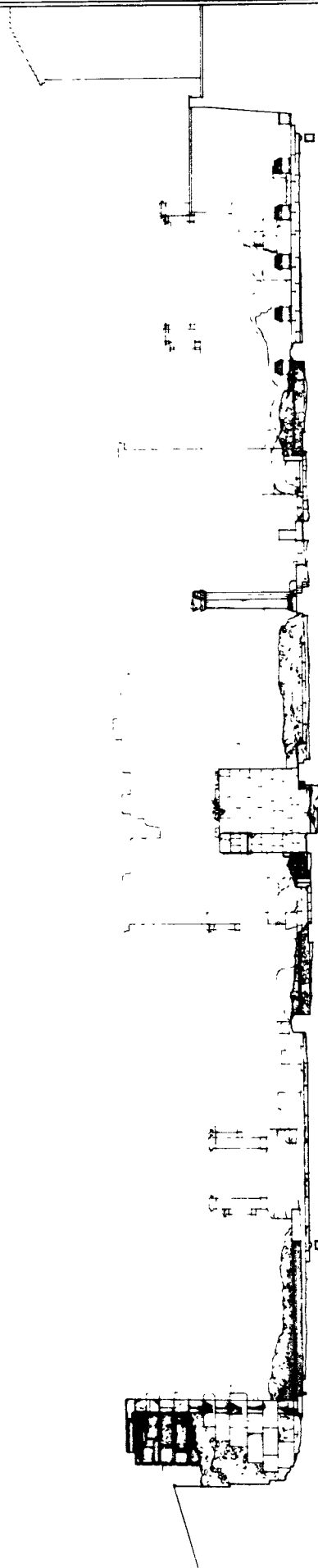




# THE STOA OF HADRIAN AT ATHENS



SECTION THROUGH ROOMS ON EAST SIDE OF STOA



SECTION THROUGH THE EXEDRA & CENTRAL BUILDING

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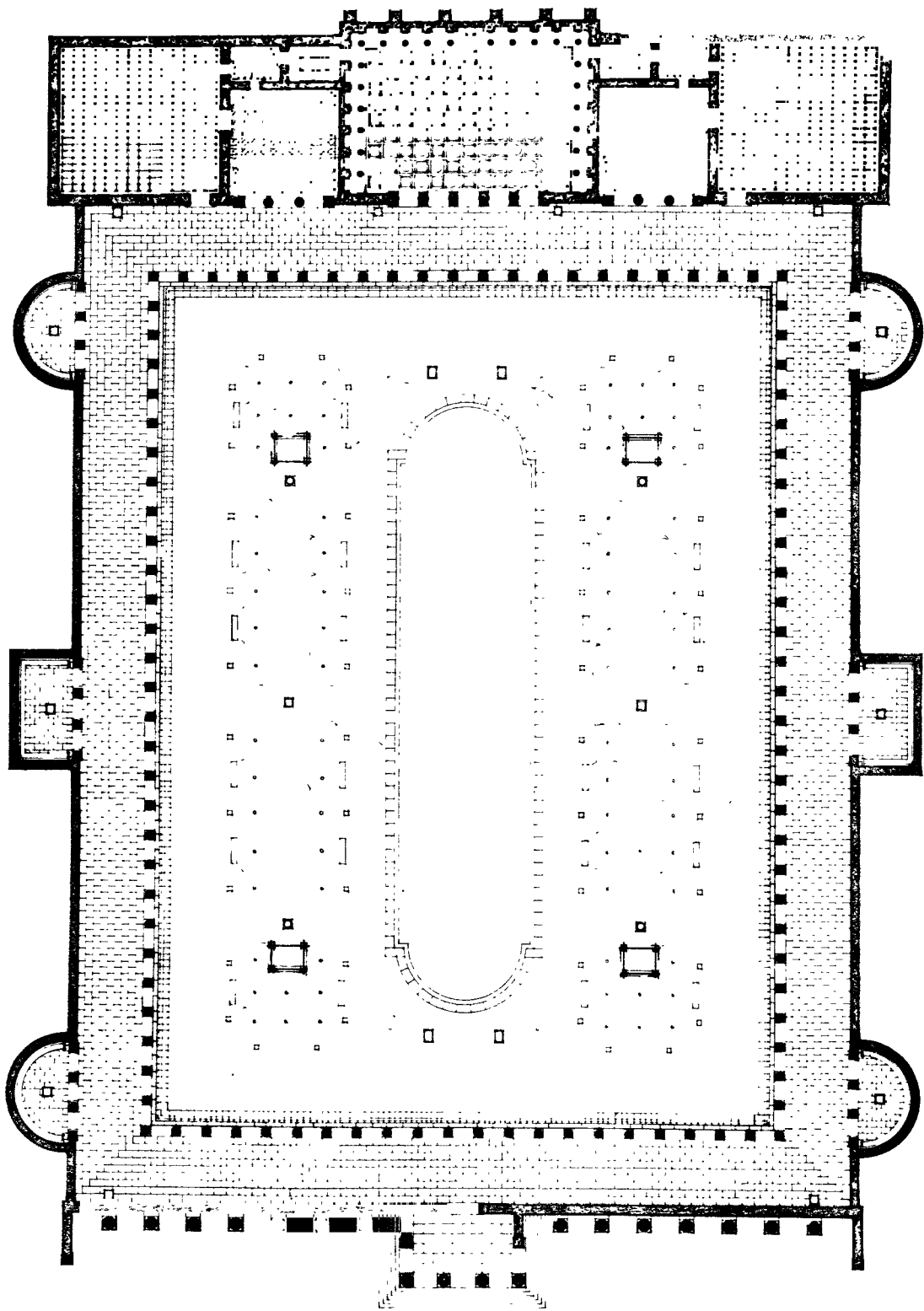
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THE STOA OF HADRIAN AT ATHENS  
ACTUAL STATE. CROSS SECTIONS. (A) THROUGH ROOMS AT EAST END. (B) THROUGH COURT



THE STOA OF HADRIAN AT ATHENS

RESTORED PLAN



0 5 10 15 20 25 30 METRES

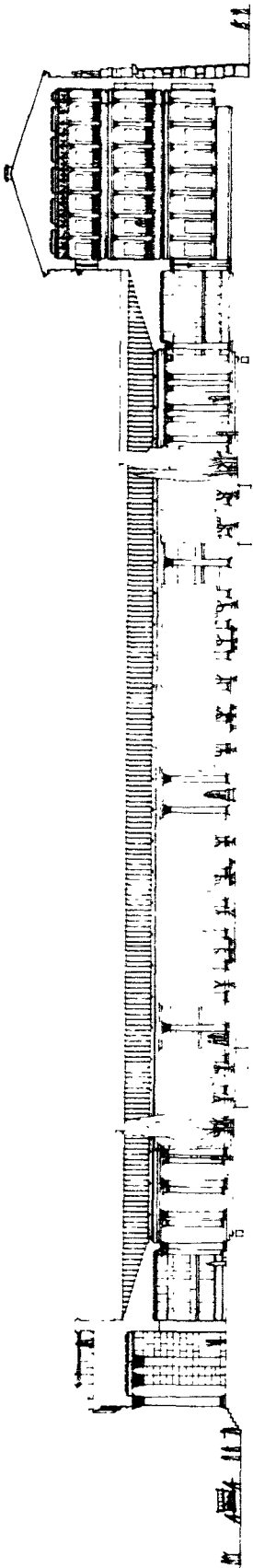
0 10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 FEET

M A Sisson MCMXXVI

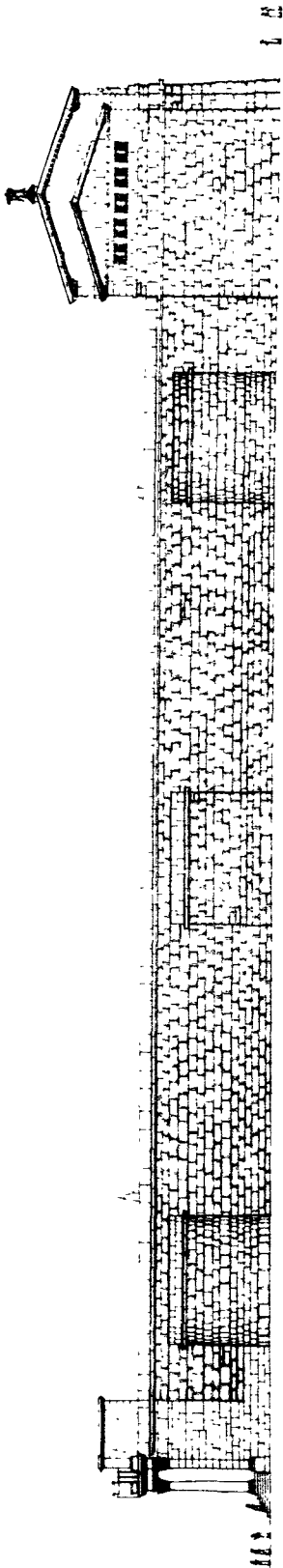
THE STOA OF HADRIAN AT ATHENS  
RECONSTRUCTION. PLAN



THE STOA OF HADRIAN AT ATHENS



LONGITUDINAL SECTION RESTORED



SOUTH ELEVATION RESTORED

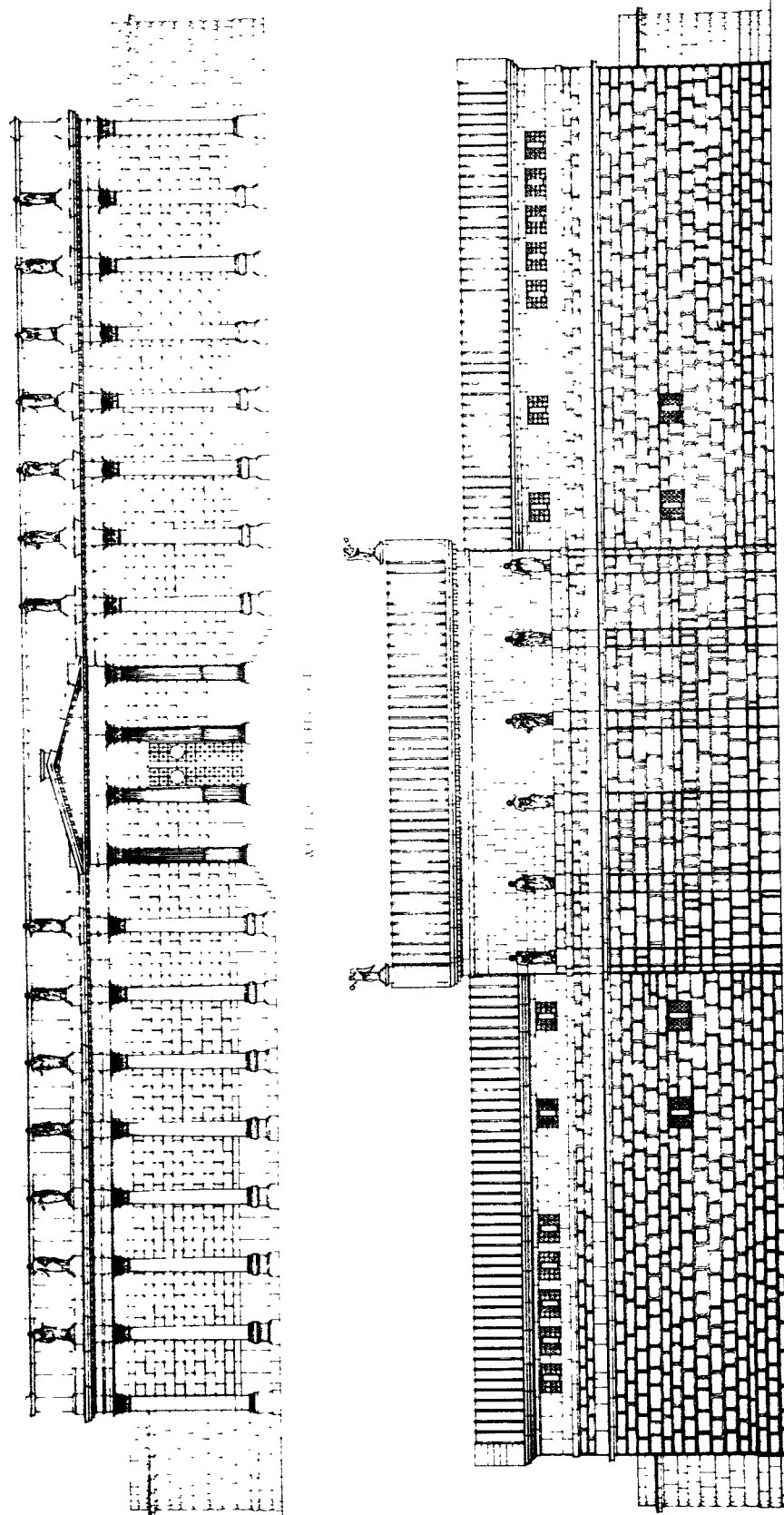


PLATE XXII

THE STOA OF HADRIAN AT ATHENS  
RECONSTRUCTION (A) LONGITUDINAL SECTION. (B) SOUTH ELEVATION



# THE STOA OF HADRIAN AT ATHENS

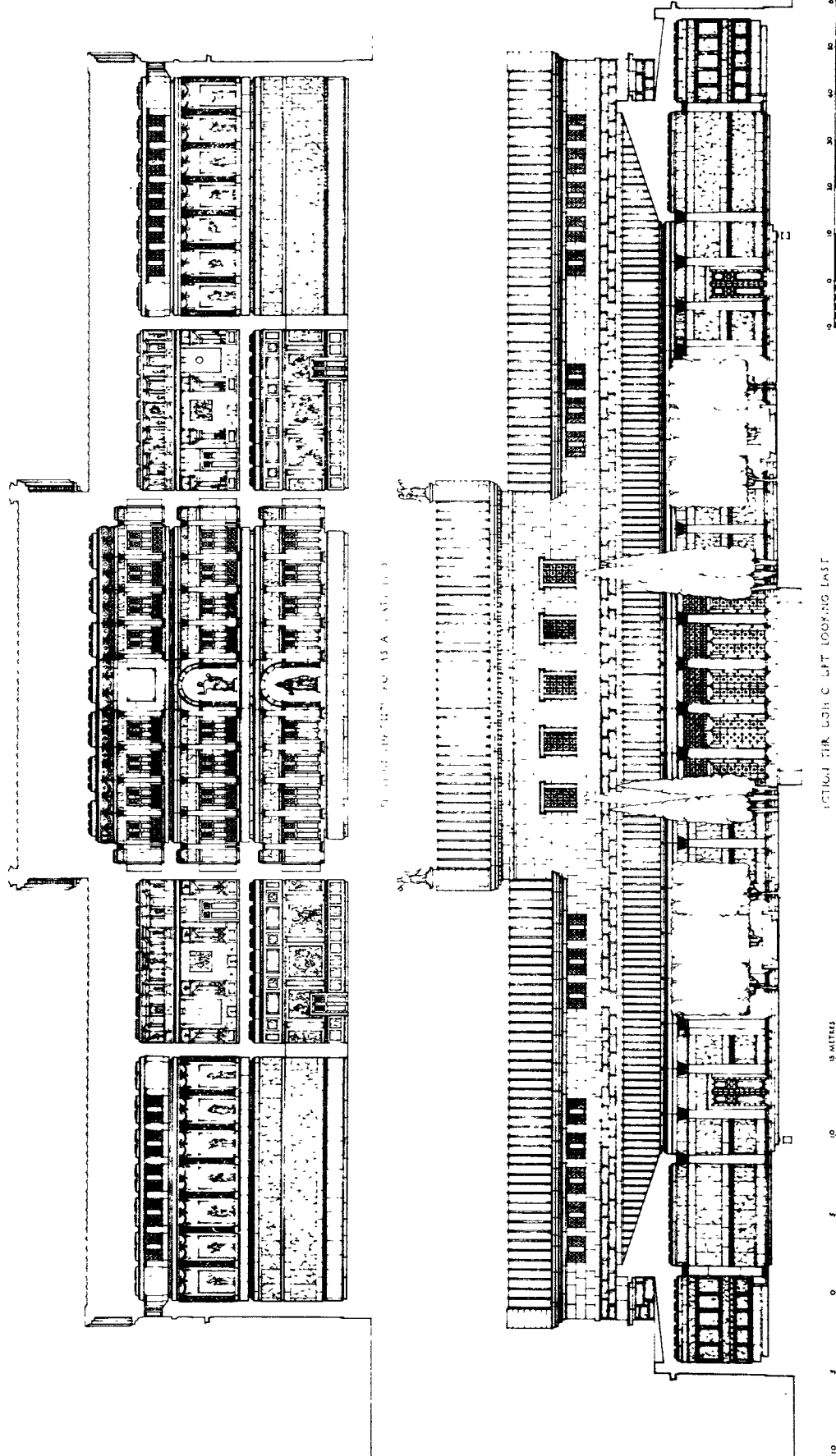


THE STOA OF HADRIAN AT ATHENS  
RECONSTRUCTION. (A) WEST ELEVATION. (B) EAST ELEVATION



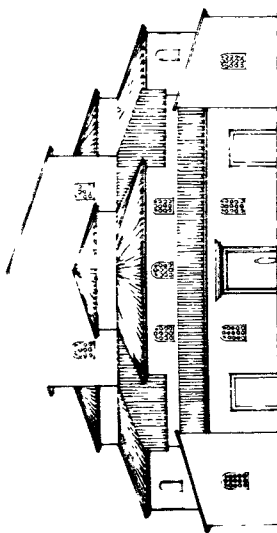


# THE STOA OF HADRIAN AT ATHENS

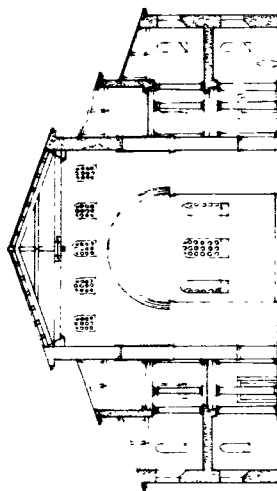


THE STOA OF HADRIAN AT ATHENS  
RECONSTRUCTION. CROSS SECTIONS (A) THROUGH ROOMS AT EAST END. (B) THROUGH COURT

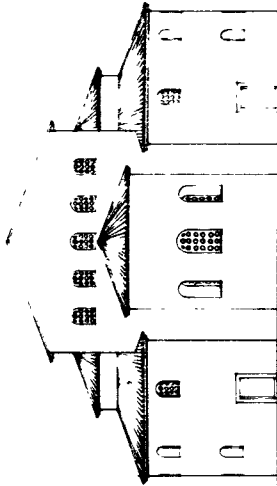




WEST ELEVATION

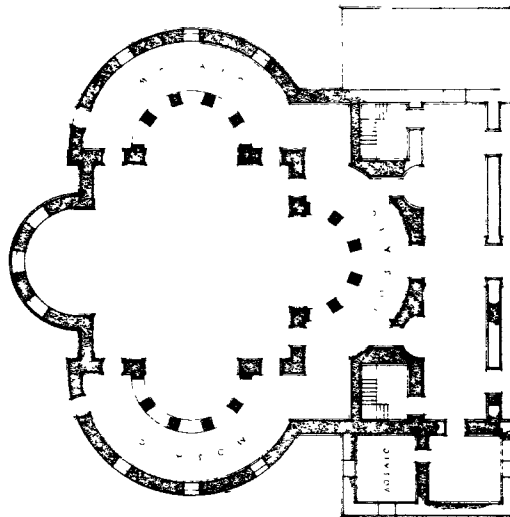
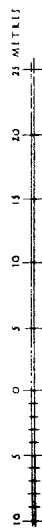


EAST ELEVATION

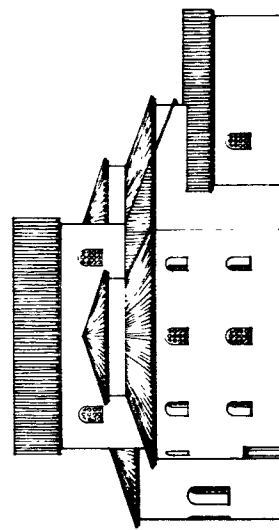
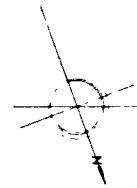


EAST ELEVATION

THE CENTRAL BUILDING IN THE  
STOA OF HADRIAN  
AT ATHENS.

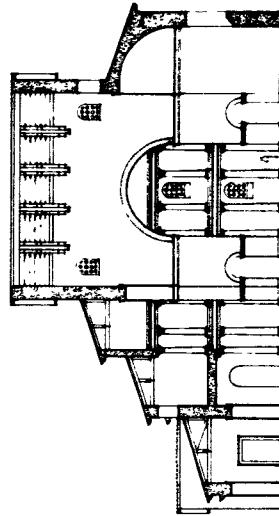
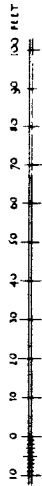


PLAN



NORTH ELEVATION

CONJECTURAL RESTORATION  
SHOWING PROBABLE  
ORIGINAL STATE.

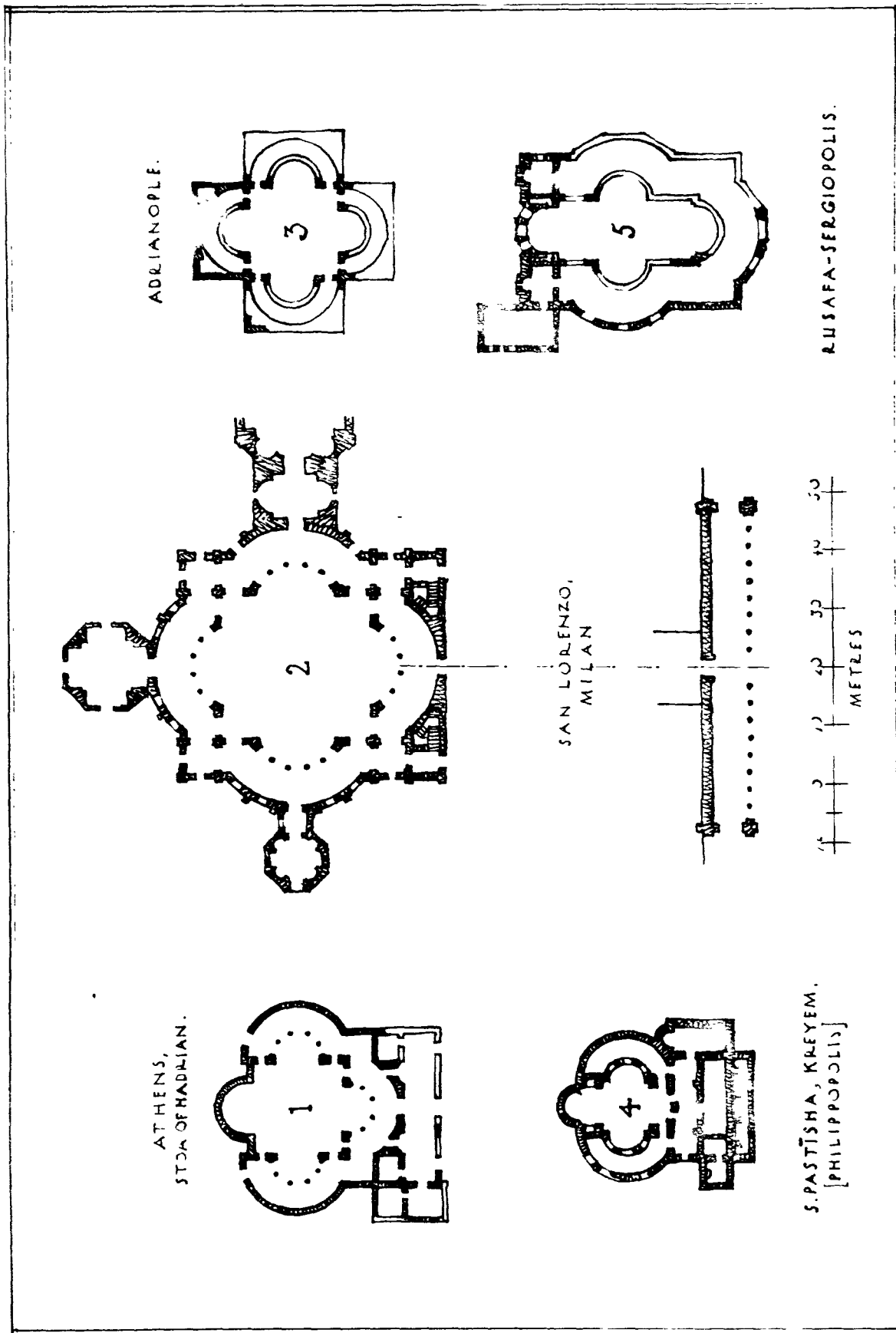


SECTION LOOKING NORTH

MASSION

THE STOA OF HADRIAN AT ATHENS  
RECONSTRUCTION CENTRAL BUILDING





THE STOA OF HADRIAN AT ATHENS  
PLAN OF CENTRAL BUILDING AND OTHERS



Alexandria was built expressly to provide a central depository for legal documents and records<sup>1</sup> which up to this time had been scattered in local offices all over Egypt, and had thus given rise to endless disputes, since it was impossible for the Prefect to exercise constant supervision over these local archives (*ἐγκτήσεων βιβλιοθήκαι*, or Record Offices of Properties), which had been in a state of confusion from at least the time of Domitian.<sup>2</sup>

It is recorded that, among his other benefits to the province of Achaëa, Hadrian during his first visit to Athens codified the laws,<sup>3</sup> and Dio singles out for mention the clause forbidding members of the *βουλή* to farm taxes.<sup>4</sup> The era of financial reform evidently began, in Athens as in Egypt,<sup>5</sup> with the increased care in the filing of property returns and similar documents which the building of a central depository for this purpose would make possible. The newly-constituted assembly of the Panhellenes at the Olympieum, and the transference of the seat of the *κοινὸν Ἀχαιῶν* from Argos to Athens at this time,<sup>6</sup> would certainly have involved the institution of a central *archivum* in the new administrative centre of the province, and this may well have been the structure described by Pausanias, 'in which books were stored.'

The building in Athens may thus have contained, like the Bibliotheca Ulpia in Rome, not only Greek and Latin literature, and perhaps statues of orators, but official documents as well, such as praetors' edicts and *senatus consulta*.<sup>7</sup> It probably combined the purpose served by the

Bibliotheca Ulpia with those of the Aerarium Saturni, thus marking the beginning of the policy which was finally carried out by Marcus Aurelius for every province.<sup>8</sup> The *Historia Augusta* ascribes the institution of such record offices in the provinces to Marcus Aurelius, but the existence of Hadrian's Library at Alexandria is alone sufficient to correct this statement. The beginning of the registration of births in the provinces, which is the subject under discussion in the passage in question, dates from the beginning of Hadrian's reign, in Egypt at least, where all records of births had to be sent to the central *archivum* as well as to the local offices in the nomes, 'ut si quando exemplum eius interciderit, sit unde peti possit.'<sup>9</sup>

The Library in Athens, if it was administered on the same lines as ἡ Ἀδριάνου βιβλιοθήκη in Alexandria, would contain two main departments devoted to the filing of archives, one of which dealt with completed contracts, while the other was a sorting office (*γραφεῖον* or *καταλογεῖον*) where a staff of copying clerks (*εἰκομισταί*) drew up a résumé of the actual documents brought to them by the persons making the declaration, complete with other necessary details of dates, etc., and marginal notes.<sup>10</sup>

The rooms in which this business was transacted are doubtless those at the east end of the structure on each side of the library proper. These are clearly divided into two self-contained departments of similar plan, but it is impossible now to determine the purpose of particular rooms.

<sup>1</sup> Ox. Pap. XXXIV. 2. Proclamation of the *praefectus Aegypti*. Titus Flavius Titianus: '... The lawyers in Egypt... deposit their securities anywhere rather than in the Library of Hadrian, which was built for this very purpose of preventing any illegal act from remaining unknown.'

<sup>2</sup> Ox. Pap. CCXXXVII. (89 A.D.). Decree of the *praefectus* relating to the administration of the local offices.

<sup>3</sup> Cassiodorus, *Cæron*, p. 636; cf. Euseb. *Chron.* ap. Georg. Synd., p. 659.

<sup>4</sup> Dio., lxi. 16. 1. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *C.I.A.* III. i. 48 (quoted below, p. 66), and the policy of Theodosius and Valentinian as *extinctores delictorum, extinctores calumniarum*.

<sup>6</sup> Dittenberger on *C.I.A.* III. 18.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Aulus Gellius, xi. 17: *Edicta veterum praetorum sedentibus forte nobis in Bibliotheca templi Traiani et aliud quid quaerentibus cum in manus incidissent legere et cognoscere libitum est*. Cf. Vopiscus, *Tac.* 8. 1, on *senatus consulta* and commentaries of emperors (*libri laudati*), kept in the same building.

<sup>8</sup> *Hist. Aug. Marc. Ant.* Phil. ix. 7. 9: *per provincias tabulariorum publicorum usum instituit, apud quos idem de originibus fieret quod Romae apud praefectos aerarii, ut si forte in provincia natus civis liberum diceret, testationes inde ferret*.

<sup>9</sup> The first recorded case is that of the wife of Apulcius, born in 118 A.D.; cf. Apul. *Apol.* 89: *pater eius natam sibi filiam, more ceterorum profectus est. Tabulae eius partim tabulario publico partim domo adservantur*.

<sup>10</sup> Ox. Pap. XXXIV. Section 1.



It would seem, however, that the square rooms adjoining the library were public spaces or waiting-rooms for those transacting business, and that the large enclosed end rooms were used for clerical work and perhaps storage of documents. The small rooms communicating with three others may well have been inquiry offices. The main library probably contained ordinary literature.

The building as a whole seems well suited to the requirements of a library and record office as defined above. It was situated in the centre of Athens; its imposing façade indicated its administrative importance, its enclosed plan and blank walls with a single entrance ensured security and quiet, and the stoa, garden and *exedrae* provided cool and agreeable resorts for those frequenting the building for purposes of business or of study.

If this was, as seems likely, a building expressly designed to meet these new needs, Pausanias' inability to give it a specific name is explicable, and it is, moreover, of interest as the only surviving example of its kind.

It may be assumed that the building continued to serve this purpose until the end of the third century A.D., when Diocletian's reconstruction of the provinces naturally called for changes, and when the central Archives at Athens sank to the position of a subordinate local office, the main depository being transferred to the new administrative centre of the Prefecture of Illyricum.

This event is recorded in an edict of Constantius Chlorus and Galerius Maximianus, issued immediately after the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian, in 305 A.D.<sup>1</sup> The inscription was found in the pavement of the church of Monasteraki about fifty yards away, and was probably taken from Hadrian's Stoa, which is the nearest Roman building. It is in a very fragmentary condition, but the general sense is clear. An attempt is being made to check the rapacity of revenue officials (*καισσαρίαντοι*) by ensuring that any documents they use in making their claims

shall be genuine. To this end it is decreed that by a certain date all official abstracts (*παρασημειώσεις*), whether on papyrus, parchment, or paper, which had formerly 'lain hidden' in the files of the record office (*ἐν ταῖς τοῦ ταμείου τάξεσιν*) must be transferred *ἐς τὸ στρατόπεδον*, by which is meant presumably the headquarters of the *praefectus praetorio* of Illyricum at Thessalonica.<sup>2</sup>

The Stoa, therefore, lost all importance as a government building at the beginning of the fourth century, and this perhaps explains the rebuilding of the colonnades and the addition of a later structure in the middle of the court, although the main building remained in use, as the inscription of Herculus shows, for at least a century longer.

#### IV. THE CENTRAL BUILDING IN THE COURT

##### A. *Description of actual state* (Plan, Plate XVII.).

This structure was built on the site of the reservoir, in the centre and on the axis of the Stoa, and was afterwards incorporated in the church of the Megale Panagia, demolished in 1885.

It consisted of a central hall, 50' 0'' square, on the east side of which was an apse 28' 0'' in diameter. On the north, south and west sides were semicircular recesses, 24' 0'' in diameter, surrounded by colonnades behind which were aisles, 12' 0'' wide, enclosed by concentric outer walls 3' 3'' thick. The floors of these aisles were covered with mosaics which are now in a fragmentary condition.

The wall at the north-east angle of the square hall, 3' 3'' in thickness, is constructed of Pentelic marble on the inner face and of *poros* on the outer, and stands to a height of 15' 0'', but at the other angles only fragments remain. An arched opening in the standing wall leads into the northern aisle and similar arches existed at the other angles. Several voussoirs of one of

<sup>1</sup> *C.I.A.* III. i. 48, especially lines 25-36 of remaining fragment. About 120 lines seem to have disappeared.

<sup>2</sup> Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, Vol. I. p. 43.

these other arches, inferior in workmanship to those of that *in situ*, have been found (Plates XVIII., XX (b) and Fig. 3).

Of the semicircular colonnades, only the concrete foundation of that on the west side remains, but the stylobate of Hymettan marble, 1' 10" below that of the main stoa, exists on the north and south sides. One Attic base is *in situ* on the northern side, and it can be seen from the dowel-holes in the stylobate that there were originally pilasters or half-columns at each end against the wall of the square hall, and four columns evenly spaced between.

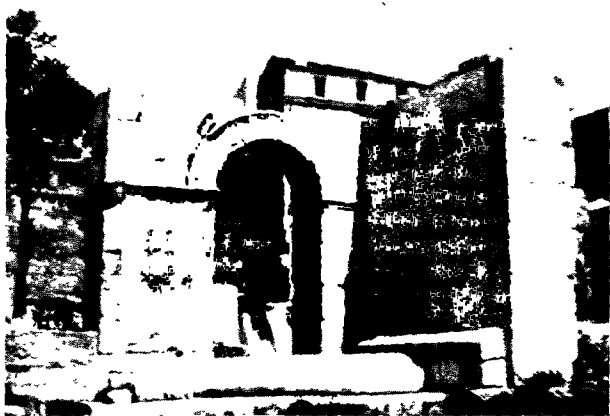


FIG. 3. CENTRAL BUILDING IN THE COURT: N.E. ANGLE. MARBLE WALL WITH ARCH

At the west end of the building, and communicating with the semicircular aisle by a central door and two narrow openings, is a long room, 16' 0" wide, extending the full width of the building, which from its shape and position appears to have been a vestibule.

This has not yet been fully excavated, and not enough of its western wall is visible to show whether this was external or whether the building extended further in this direction.

On the east side of this vestibule and opening from it are two small rooms. The northernmost contains a mass of stone and concrete which appears to have been the lower part of a staircase. At the northern end of the vestibule is another

room, and adjoining this again is one still retaining part of a mosaic floor similar in character to those in the aisles of the main hall. The walls of these rooms, though of the same construction, are not bonded into the main building.

The whole of the walls of the building, except those forming the four angles of the square hall, are constructed of rough rubble with occasional brick courses, and only the lower parts remain (Fig. 4). Where doors occur, the jambs are of stone, and holes in these show that marble architraves were once attached.

Externally the walls must have been plastered



FIG. 4. CENTRAL BUILDING IN THE COURT. WALL CONSTRUCTION.

and internally plastered or, less probably, faced with marble.

The eastern apse has at some period been thickened on the inside by the addition of a mass of concrete, but whether this extended to the full height or not is uncertain. In this reduced apse are remains of a marble skirting and paving.

Parts of the concrete walls of the older reservoir on the site exist in the square hall, at a height which proves that, in order to cover them, the paving of this hall must have been at least 3" above the mosaics in the adjoining aisles, and level with the semicircular stylobates.

In the excavation report<sup>1</sup> it is stated that marble paving-slabs were found in the semi-

<sup>1</sup> ΠΕΡΕΤΗΡΙΟΝ, see above.

circular space enclosed by the southern colonnade, but no traces of these are now visible.

At first sight the marble wall and arch at the north-east angle appear to be of better style than the adjoining rubble walls and the rest of the structure. They have in consequence been attributed to an earlier period and have even been thought to be contemporary with the surrounding Hadrianic Stoa.<sup>1</sup> It has, however, already been shown that they are unrelated to the reservoir of Hadrianic date and must therefore be later.

A careful examination of the junctions between

It seems, therefore, that older material was employed in the straight walls of the square hall, where greater strength and a better internal appearance were required, and adaptation was easier than in the curved walls; while rubble was used elsewhere.

The mosaics are composed of *tesserae* of the following colours:—Black, white, blue (Hymettan marble), pink and yellow. They are on an average  $\frac{1}{2}$ " square and are laid on a bed of mortar composed of ground brick and lime. The pattern of the pavement in the northern aisle consists of



FIG. 5. CENTRAL BUILDING IN THE COURT: N.E. ANGLE. JUNCTION OF MARBLE STRUCTURE AND RUBBLE WALLS.



FIG. 6. CENTRAL BUILDING IN THE COURT: N.E. ANGLE. OLD MATERIAL RE-USED ON EXTERIOR.

the marble wall and the curved rubble walls reveals the important fact that the structure is homogeneous. Blocks project from the marble structure at each junction to provide a bond with the rubble walls and the two types of construction are thus interlocked (Fig. 5). Also, the better style of the marble wall is proved on examination to be deceptive. As previously stated, the outer face is largely built of *poros* blocks, and these are quite clearly older material re-used. In some cases dowel-holes and other marks remaining from their original use are visible on the face (Fig. 6). The northern side of the arch is also much rougher in execution than the southern, which faces the main hall.

interlacing circles with a border of alternating leaves. In the southern aisle the pavement is arranged in a series of radiating panels, containing alternately scales and intersecting circles. Between the panels and opposite each column was a vase with flowers growing from it. The panels are surrounded by a guilloche pattern and the same leaf border occurs. These patterns also existed in the west aisle, but the mosaic here is too fragmentary to show the general design.

At a later period the square central hall was divided into a nave and aisles by the insertion of two colonnades. Owing to the difference in width of the openings of the eastern apse and the

<sup>1</sup> Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. 195.

western semicircular recess, the colonnades are not parallel (Plan, Plate XVII.).

Of the northern colonnade only the foundation wall and stylobate remain, but of the southern, three columns and a pilaster, surmounted by an architrave, still stand. The columns are unfluted and vary in size; two of them stand on bases, while the third has none: the capitals of all three belong to a Greek Doric order. The foundation walls also are carelessly built of ill-assorted materials from earlier buildings.

At the date when the square hall was divided, the openings on the north and south sides of it appear to have been walled up, cutting off the semicircular recesses and reducing the area of the building.

These alterations must have taken place at a time when the Hadrianic Stoa was disused, since *poros* blocks from its external walls, as well as other fragments of all sorts, have been employed in the foundations of colonnades and walls.

It has generally been assumed that these colonnades were inserted to convert the earlier building into a church, a predecessor of the Byzantine church of the Megale Panagia.

#### B. *Reconstruction* (Plate XXV.).

It is possible from the remains as described above to reconstruct the original plan of the structure before alterations (as far as it is excavated), and its probable general form can be deduced from the plan.

It has been seen that the building consisted of a square hall, from which opened an apse and three semicircular recesses surrounded by colonnades and aisles. It does not appear that any columns stood in the openings of these recesses, which are thus clearly part of the central hall, since the impost-moulding of the arch at the north-east angle is continued round the wall (Plate XX. (b)), and no respond has been attached as was the case where the semicircular colonnades abutted against this wall on its northern side.

It is therefore reasonable to suppose that these openings and also that of the apse on the east side were spanned by large arches at a higher level, an arrangement which would have enabled the space to be roofed in a simple manner, as shown in the reconstruction.

One Attic base remains *in situ* on the stylobate of the northern colonnade. This is 2' 5" square, 12" high, and designed to support a column with a diameter of 2' 0" below the *apophyge*. Near by are three and a half similar bases. Lying in the vicinity are one complete column and the remains of at least five others of Pentelic marble, 13' 11" in height and with a diameter below the *apophyge* of 2' 0". There can be little doubt that these belonged to the colonnades. They are coarse in execution and clearly much later in date than the Hadrianic Stoa. A three-quarter column of the same height and character lies inside the square room and appears to have been one of the responds attached to the marble wall at the ends of the colonnades.

Several Ionic capitals found on the site may have belonged to these columns.

Portions of an entablature, curved in plan and with concave face, have also been found. These are two blocks comprising architrave and frieze, and one block of cornice. The cornice consists of *cyma recta*, *corona* and dentils, and the architrave of a chamfer with three fascias below; the execution is very rough. The total height of the entablature is 2' 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ " and the width of the soffit of the architrave 1' 4". Since the upper diameter of the columns described is 1' 7 $\frac{1}{4}$ " it is evident that the entablature, which is also disproportionately low, does not belong to them. It seems likely, therefore, that there was a gallery and a superimposed order of smaller columns for which this entablature would have been suitable. The resultant height would accord well with the probable proportions of the central hall. It has already been remarked that stairs probably existed in the small room opening from the vestibule. These would have provided access to the galleries.

C. *Style and Date.*

Before discussing the purpose of this structure it is desirable to establish its date by a comparison of its construction and mosaics with analogous examples.

The same construction of rubble with brick courses and mosaics almost identical in style and pattern are found in several ruins in the eastern part of Athens in the quarter originally enclosed by Hadrian, which must in later times have become a favourite residential part of the city. Among these are a large villa (?)<sup>1</sup> and some baths<sup>2</sup> near the Olympieum, and a villa in the garden of the ex-Royal Palace.<sup>3</sup>

Mosaics similar in style exist in North Africa and also in Britain, where they cannot well be much later in date than the end of the fourth century. The same patterns, however, are found in mosaics of the Ostrogothic period in the Palace of Theodoric at Ravenna.<sup>4</sup>

The most valuable analogies are found in the following churches, of which the date is more nearly known.

At Athens, on the south side of the Ilissos and outside the city, are the remains of a large basilican church attributed to the beginning of the fifth century.<sup>5</sup> Its construction is similar; the mosaics are identical in character to those in question, and many of the same patterns occur.

At Epidaurus there is a five-aisled basilica of similar construction and containing similar mosaics, which has been attributed to the first half of the fourth century.<sup>6</sup>

At Nicopolis in North Greece there is a basilican church containing mosaics in which the running ornaments and some designs are similar, but which also include animals and figures.

These mosaics are evidently of later date and foreshadow those of Byzantine type. This church is attributed to the fifth century.<sup>7</sup>

A comparison of the mosaics in these examples suggests that the structure is most nearly contemporary with the basilica near the Ilissos, but from the fact that it shews no trace of Byzantine character and is distinctly of a late Roman style, it seems likely that both these examples should be attributed to a date not later than 400 A.D., being perhaps a little later than the fourth-century church at Epidaurus but certainly earlier than that at Nicopolis.

D. *Purpose.*

Though evidently built while the surrounding Stoa was still in use, this structure does not appear from its form to be in any way associated with the purposes of the Hadrianic building; and, moreover, it is unlikely that any extension of that building would have been made after 305 A.D., when its importance ceased.

A comparison of the plan with certain others closely related to it in form, though widely distributed geographically, shows that it was almost certainly a church (see Plans, Plate XXVI.).

The fourth-century church of San Lorenzo at Milan<sup>8</sup> in its original form consisted of a square central space with segmental colonnaded recesses and aisles on all four sides. The similarity is striking, and the more so since it is unlikely that San Lorenzo was domed originally, because this would have necessitated the use of awkward squinch arches. It is probable that the founder, S. Ambrosius, introduced the type from the East in the fourth century, and it may bear

<sup>1</sup> Περικουζ, 1889, p. 8 and Plan; *Athen Mitt.* xiv. p. 327.

<sup>2</sup> Περικουζ, 1888, p. 15 and Plan; Judeich, *Top. von Athen*, p. 339.

<sup>3</sup> *Bull. dell'Inst.*, 1846, p. 177 (Ussing).

<sup>4</sup> *Mon. Ant.* xxiv. p. 737; Colasanti, *L'Arte Bizantina in Italia*, plates 98-100.

<sup>5</sup> 'Eφ. 'Αρχ., 1910, p. 1 ff.; *Jahrbuch xxxvi.* (1922), p. 256.

<sup>6</sup> Περικουζ, 1916, p. 39 ff.; 'Eφ. 'Αρχ., 1918, p. 172 ff.;

*Jahrbuch xxxvi.* (1922), p. 30.

<sup>7</sup> Περικουζ, 1916, p. 49 ff.; 1918, p. 16 ff.; 'Eφ. 'Αρχ., 1916, pp. 33, 65; 1917, p. 48; 1918, pp. 28, 34. *Jahrbuch Anz.* 1916, p. 148 ff.; *Jahrbuch xxxvi.* (1922), p. 248.

<sup>8</sup> Strzygowski, *Klein Asien*, p. 211; Von Sybel, *Christliche Antike*, ii. p. 313 and Plan; Holtzinger, *Die Altchristliche Architektur*, p. 102, note; Monneret de Villard, *Boll. d'Arte*, v. 1911, p. 271. (Drawings by Sangallo and others.)

some relationship to the Octagon of Constantine at Antioch.<sup>1</sup>

At Adrianople there is a church which, according to Choisy,<sup>2</sup> originally consisted of a square central space with semicircular recesses and galleries on all four sides. The square hall was later covered by a dome carried on four piers. The original building is attributed by Choisy to the earliest phase of Christian architecture.

The plan of a church at S. Pastisha near Philippopolis,<sup>3</sup> shows a square space with an apse on one side and semicircular recesses and aisles on the others. This domed church, which is thought to be of the ninth century, shows the persistence of this type of plan at a later period.

At Rusafa (Sergiopolis) in Syria<sup>4</sup> there is a church with similarly arranged semicircular apse and recesses about a central rectangular space. The building is believed to be the tomb-church of the martyr Sergius, and to date from the fourth century.

The building in the Stoa of Hadrian most nearly resembles the church of S. Lorenzo at Milan and that at Adrianople; and this fact, in conjunction with the evidence of the mosaics and construction, indicates the end of the fourth century as the time of its erection. It is thus an interesting and hitherto unrecognised link between Roman and Byzantine types, and of importance in the history of church architecture.

That this church was erected in the garden of the Stoa is not surprising. Open sites would have been rare in the centre of Athens, and at this time the Hadrianic building, though still in use, had declined in importance. The above-mentioned church at Epidaurus stands in a public space, and at Jerash in Transjordan a church of early date was built over a small piazza. It is surprising, however, to find a church of this size in the centre of Athens at a time when the city was still a stronghold of paganism.

When this church had fallen into decay or

suffered from some catastrophe, the central space was subdivided to form a nave and aisles, as described, and the area of the building curtailed in accordance with the needs and ability of a period of decay and depopulation. At a still later date, the remains of these earlier buildings were incorporated in the Byzantine church of the Megale Panagia, which existed until the excavations of 1885.

The dedication of these earlier churches is unknown, but it is perhaps significant that the last building to occupy the site was known as the 'great church of the Virgin.'

#### V. CONJECTURAL HISTORICAL SUMMARY.

A.D. 130. Hadrian's Library and Record Office built.

A.D. 305. This ceased to be important but remained in use. The columns removed and stoa rebuilt.

c. A.D. 400. Church built in court.

Fifth century. Hadrian's building still in use.

Sixth or seventh century (?). Church rebuilt after destruction of Hadrianic building.

Byzantine Church of the Megale Panagia built.

#### *Note on Materials.*

In the Hadrianic building the triangular facing bricks are formed by cutting squares of 10" to 11" diagonally into four. The average thickness of the bricks is 1½" and of the joints ⅝". Every eighth course (approximately) consists of uncut square bricks 17" long. The mortar of joints and concrete is composed of lime and a sand containing small pebbles. The aggregate of the concrete consists of large lumps of stone and marble. The wall plaster under the marble facing is composed of lime and powdered brick.

The bricks used in the central building or church are 8" square.

<sup>1</sup> Eusebius, *Vita Const.* iii. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Choisy, *Histoire de l'Architecture*, Vol. II p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> *Guide of the National Museum at Sophia*, Obp. 9, Fig. 9, p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> Sarre und Herzfeld, *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, ii. (1909), p. 103.

The surveys on which the drawings reproduced here are based were made in the year 1925, and the drawings and reconstruction during the years 1925-7.

I wish to take this opportunity of expressing my gratitude to Mr. A. H. Woodward, Director of the British School of Archaeology at Athens, for help in various ways, and to Mr. Anastasius K. Orlandos, Ephor of Antiquities, for his personal

interest and his great kindness in providing men, ladders and levelling instruments to facilitate the making of the survey.

In the preparation of the report I have been greatly indebted to Miss K. M. T. Chrimes, Gilchrist Student of the British School at Rome, who has contributed the material relating to record offices (Section III, D) and has assisted in classical matters throughout.

## THE ANTIQUITIES FROM LANUVIUM IN THE MUSEUM AT LEEDS AND ELSEWHERE.<sup>1</sup>

By A. M. WOODWARD.

### PART II.—SCULPTURE (*continued*) AND MISCELLANEOUS.

THIS article continues my catalogue of the objects from Lord Savile's excavations at Lanuvium, of which the first instalment appeared in these *Papers* (Vol. VII. pp. 63-91), and completes my task as far as concerns the contents of the Museum at Leeds. As it has been decided not to attempt to include here the numerous small objects of lesser importance from the site, which are in the British Museum, but are not yet included in any volume of the *Catalogue*, the contents of this, the final, instalment consist of the following:—(1) the remainder of the objects in all materials in the Museum at Leeds; (2) such objects in the British Museum as have been published already, either by the discoverer in *Archæologia*, or in the various volumes of the *Catalogue* concerned. It will be seen that by far the most important and extensive part of the latter consists of the objects of terracotta. The republication of these, *in extenso*, is necessary for the proper understanding of the Leeds pieces, and enables the whole of this material to be presented simultaneously.

The resumption of my task was unavoidably delayed by my absence for more than three years on War service, and by prior claims of other work after my return in 1919; with the result that the manuscript and illustrations were not completed before 1922.

The further interval which has elapsed since the manuscript was completed has enabled me to secure more illustrations and to take into account the results of recent excavations on the site. The most important are those carried out by the late Professor Angelo Pasqui in 1914-15, and now fully described by Dr. G. Bendinelli in *Monumenti Antichi*.<sup>2</sup> It is not necessary to summarise the article here, but it is to be noted that the principal discovery was that of the remains of a temple situated on the 'Colle San Lorenzo,' a short distance east of the area explored by Lord Savile. This building, which measures approximately 24 x 20 metres and has a triple Cella, is identified by Bendinelli as the Capitolium of the city of Lanuvium, presumably sacred to the Capitoline

<sup>1</sup> I wish again to record my indebtedness to all those whose help and encouragement were acknowledged in the first portion of this article. At the British Museum, Messrs. E. J. Forsdyke and F. N. Pryce have kindly helped me to secure photographs, and Mr. R. Hinks has supplied valuable information regarding dimensions, etc. As the collections belonging to the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society have now passed into the hands of the Leeds Corporation, I add my acknowledgments to the Museums Sub-committee of the City Council, with a particular expression of my gratitude to the Curator, Mr. H. Crowther, for his ready help on all occasions, and for many of the photographs reproduced in this article. I have also received

generous help in the matter of securing illustrations from Professor H. A. Ormerod, and additional photographs from Mr. J. Manby, Photographer to the University of Leeds. Mr. Piet De Jong has re-drawn many of the architectural terracottas from my rough sketches. Special mention must be made of the generous grant furnished by the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society towards the costs of printing the present article. Without this subsidy its publication in full might have been found impracticable.

<sup>2</sup> *Monumenti Lanuvina*, *Mon. Ant.* xxvii. (1921), pp. 293-370, Pls. I.-IV. Occasional discoveries are reported from time to time in *Notizie degli Scavi*.



Triad. It is thus to be distinguished from the famous temple of Juno Sospita, the site of which still remains to be discovered.<sup>1</sup> It seems, however, certain that to this Capitolium should be attributed some, if not all, of the terracotta architectural remains found by Lord Savile and described in detail below, since more material of the same type as some of his discoveries came to light in the temple itself. The plan on Plate I accompanying Bendinelli's article shows the relative position of the newly-found temple to the structures uncovered by Lord Savile, and furnishes the indispensable basis for any future topographical study of the site.

of r. arm, slightly bent at elbow; muscles well-developed and carefully modelled. Point of elbow chipped off. L. .135; max. diam. .085.

75 (Fig. 1. Leeds, Inv. No. 22). Fragment apparently from upper l. arm and shoulder of a male figure wearing tunic and *lorica*; the former is rendered sketchily, the latter is recognisable by a raised band running transversely near the upper edge. The lower edge is dressed smooth, the upper broken; the back is partly smooth, partly broken. H. .18; max. br. .16.<sup>3</sup>

76 (Fig. 1. British Museum, *B.M. Sculp.* iii. 2113). Left foot, wearing *caliga*, as Nos. 15 to 22 of this group. The laced thong is knotted on

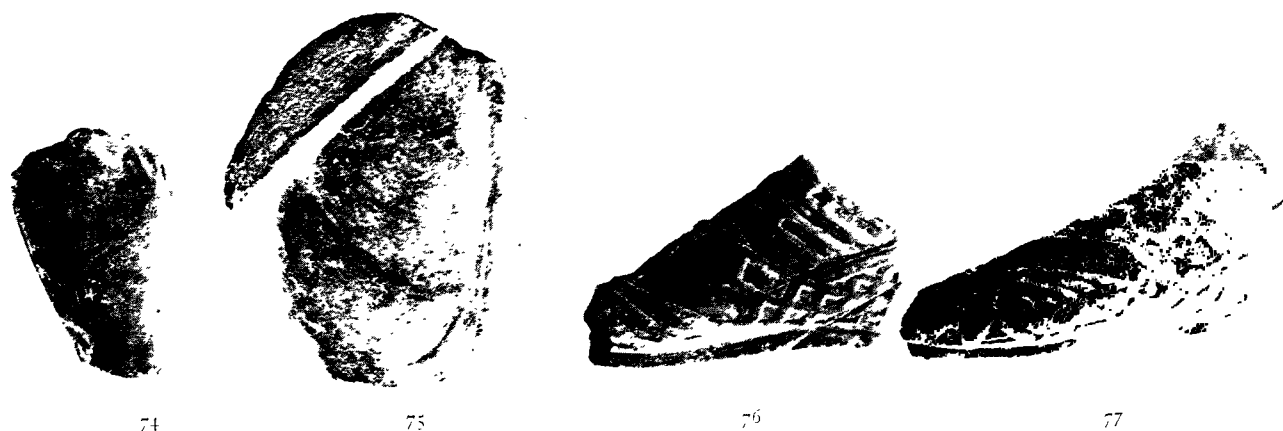


FIG. 1. FRAGMENTS FROM ARM AND SHOULDER, AND FEET OF RIDERS. (Scale : 74 & 75, 1 : 4; 76 & 77, 1 : 5½).

#### SCULPTURE (*continued*).

##### (1) *Fragments from the Equestrian Group.*

The following pieces of marble sculpture should apparently all be attributed to the equestrian group described in the first part of my catalogue (*Papers, B.S.R.* vii. pp. 63-91).<sup>2</sup>

##### *Riders.*

74 (Fig. 1. Leeds, Inv. No. 14). Fragment

the front of the instep, and the framework of the boot is coloured red. The sole is roughly tooled below. Broken above ankle, and toes lost; the heel is a separate piece, still secured by its original dowel. H. .148; l. of sole .212.

77 (Fig. 1. *Ibid.*, unnumbered). Left foot of similar style, but no knot visible; traces of red on heel only. Broken above ankle, and point of toe chipped off. Sole worked smooth below. H. .15; l. of sole .248.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The claim of Lord Savile to have identified the site of the temple of Juno Sospita rests on no sound foundation, and in referring to it in the first part of my article (p. 63) I did not intend to imply that I accepted it as proved. I regret that by careless phrasing I seem to have conveyed that impression to Dr. Bendinelli (*op. cit.* p. 317 t.).

<sup>2</sup> The numbering is continued from that article. Measurements are given in metres throughout.

<sup>3</sup> This does not belong to any of the six existing torsos, *op. cit.* Nos. 1-6. For another torso-fragment see below, No. 77a.

<sup>4</sup> Both these feet are of unknown provenance, but the similarity in scale, in marble and in the type of boot, make it extremely likely that they belong to this group; and they may have reached the Museum separately from the bulk of the finds given to it by Lord Savile.

*Horses.*

78 (Fig. 2. *Ibid.*, Inv. No. 1893-7-13.2; not in *B.M. Sculp.*). Muzzle of a horse, exactly similar both in treatment and material to the others from this group (*op. cit.*, Nos. 24-29, except 28, *q.v.*). Broken off just below the eyes; holes for attachment of bridle as on No. 24. L. .325.

79 (Fig. 3. Leeds, Inv. No. 53). Fragment apparently from the neck of a horse, broken below and at back. The inner surfaces shew, in the

torso wearing *lorica* with *pteryges* and girdle; traces of *paludamentum* on r. flank. H. .39; br. .55. (Described by Bendinelli, *Mon. Ant.*, 1921, p. 357.)

79a (Found in 1925?, near the site of Lord Savile's excavations). Horse's hoof and fetlock. (Cf. A. Galieti, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1926, p. 411.)

No. 77a may well have belonged to the same figure as our small fragment, No. 75, which would avoid the need to postulate an eighth rider. If, on the other hand, we retain all eight horses, we may claim that the two may represent separate



FIG. 2 (No. 78). MUZZLE OF HORSE. (Scale 1:4.)

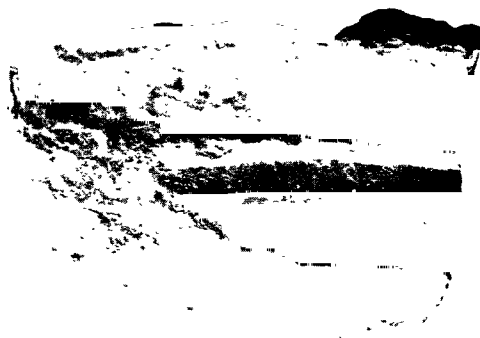


FIG. 3 (No. 79). FRAGMENT FROM NECK OF HORSE. (Scale 1:3½.)

line of fracture, a cutting nearly square in section, and a dowel-hole. The outer surface shews an elliptical curve, along which is a raised band, clearly the collar, as on Nos. 25 and 27. H. .203; br. .115; th. .152.

The existence of No. 78, which definitely came from this site, seems to indicate that the group contained eight horses, unless we choose to reject No. 28 in view of its rather different treatment, to which I drew attention in publishing it.

Mention must also be made of the following pieces which seem to belong to the group:

77a (Preserved in garden of Villa Sforza, Civita Lavinia). Fragment of r. side of a male

figures of riders. The evidence for a definite conclusion is after all inadequate. Bendinelli, it must be noted, makes the interesting suggestion that the group may have stood over the south gate of the Acropolis of Lanuvium, which was brought to light in the excavations of 1914-15, not far from where Lord Savile found the greater part of the fragments belonging to it.<sup>1</sup> This position would be particularly suitable for a group of Imperial personages, and if the central figure were that of the Emperor, no one more likely than Antoninus Pius can be suggested. In that event, if alone, he was presumably flanked by three mounted figures on each side;<sup>2</sup> but it is equally

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Bendinelli *op. cit.* pp. 357 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

probable that he would have been accompanied by Marcus Aurelius, which with the same number of attendants would give us eight figures in all.

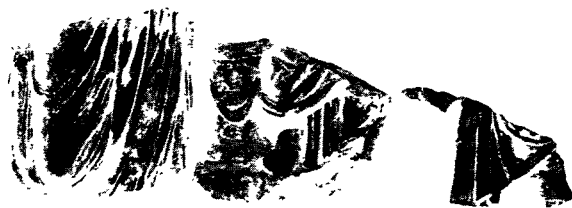


FIG. 4 (No. 80). FRAGMENTS OF MALE FIGURE.  
(Scale 1 : 18.)

(2) 80-103. *Other Sculptures, excluding Reliefs.*

80 (Fig. 4. Leeds, Inv. Nos. 29, 30, 39). Three fragments of a draped male standing figure, of life size:—(a) Right foot and leg nearly up to

clasping a small fold of the toga; (c) fragment of similar style, .253 high, apparently from bent l. arm and drapery in front of shoulder, to judge by the oblique folds of the latter; the portion of the arm exposed wears an undershirt with a ribbed surface.

A little seems to be lost between (a) and (b). These three fragments alone seem to have survived from what must have been a male portrait statue of a common type, dating probably from the first or second century of our era.<sup>1</sup>

81 (Fig. 5. Leeds). Fragment, broken through, from the top of a male head of about life-size. The inner surface is worked smooth, and has a dowel-hole in the centre, indicating that the head was made in two pieces. The treatment of the hair in straggling locks suggests



FIG. 5. FRAGMENT OF HEAD IN STYLE OF POLYCLITUS, PERSEPHONE (?) AND ROMAN GIRL.  
(Scale: 81 ca. 1 : 5; the others 1 : 4.)

knee; the person represented wears a long toga and close-fitting shoes. Beside his r. leg is a *scrinium* .292 high; he stands on a base .087 high; (b) fragment .506 high, with both knees and r. leg nearly to hip; the r. knee is advanced, and the r. hand, lacking the thumb, hangs down, lightly

the School of Polyclitus, represented here in a good Roman copy.

These *capita desecta* are discussed by J. R. Crawford in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, i. (1917), pp. 103 ff., who shews that this method of construction can have had no ritual

<sup>1</sup> Cf., among many others, the unknown personage in the Vatican (Mus. Chiaram. 15, Amelung, *Cat.* I. p. 323 = Reinach, *Répertoire*, iii. p. 279, 4), the Louvre Augustus (Reinach, *op. cit.*

i. p. 137, 4 = Bernoulli, *Röm. Ikon.* ii. 36), and the Florence *Britannicus* (Reinach, *op. cit.* i. p. 577, 2 = Bernoulli, *op. cit.* ii. 367).

significance. This example does not figure in his list.

82 (Fig. 6. British Museum, *B.M. Sculp.* iii. 1543). Female figure lacking the head and most of both arms, and merging below the waist into a base roughly oval in section, with a rippled surface to indicate water. The hair falls in a level mass behind, and the ends of a few locks are preserved on the shoulders. The l. arm was raised above the



FIG. 6 (No. 82). SCYLLA, FROM A FOUNTAIN. (Scale 1:8.)

head, and the r. was advanced. This warrants the identification with Scylla, as described in the *Catalogue, l.c.*; Lord Savile, who had overestimated its aesthetic importance, thought it a water-nymph. H. .64; there is a rectangular clamp-hole where the back joins the base.

83 (Fig. 7. *Ibid.*, Inv. No. 1893-7-13.1; not in Cat. of Sculpture). Female head, possibly Juno, with *stephane*, and hair waved and gathered into a knot behind; about two-thirds life-size.

Poor work, in distant imitation of a Greek fourth century type. Italian marble. H. .152; features somewhat worn and pitted by water.

Cf. *Archaeologia*, xlix. p. 376, and Pl. IV., 2.

84 (Fig. 8. *Ibid.*<sup>1</sup>). Portion of a female head of more than life-size, wearing plain *stephane*, beneath the lower edge of which several small holes have been drilled, for the insertion of curls. More than half the head, including the r. side of the face, is broken away. H. .21.

Subject uncertain: possibly an Empress in the



FIG. 7 (No. 83). JUNO (?). (Scale 1:2½.)

guise of a Divinity or some abstract conception such as *Pictas*. Fair work, possibly of first century, A.D.

(NOTE.—Nos. 85-174 are all at Leeds, with the exception of the sundial, No. 133; to save space I have omitted the inventory numbers where these exist.)

85 (Fig. 9. Leeds). Three fragments of a small draped standing figure, of coarse-grained marble, much weathered and disintegrated, as by fire:—(a) headless bust, wearing tunic and toga; r. arm broken off at shoulder. H. .216; (b) lower portion, from hips to ankles, with l. knee slightly bent, and the remains of a *puntello* on l. thigh. H. .318; (c) small piece of drapery,

<sup>1</sup> Unpublished; a cast is in the Leeds Museum.

with deep-cut parallel folds. Fair work, but subject unidentifiable.

86 (Fig. 10). Fragment of torso and upper



FIG. 8 (No. 84). PORTRAIT OF AN EMPRESS (?).  
(Scale ca. 1 : 3.)

legs of youthful nude male standing figure; white marble. The pose indicated, with the l. leg advanced and the body inclined to the left, suggests



FIG. 9 (No. 85). FRAGMENTS OF SMALL PORTRAIT-STATUE (?). (Scale ca. 1 : 10.)

a Praxitelean tradition; there are traces of attached object on l. hip, and a smaller one on the r. thigh. Broken away above navel, and from thighs downwards. H. .14.

87. Base with feet of two small draped standing figures; that on r. was larger, and had l. foot slightly drawn back and turned outwards; folds of drapery are visible between the feet of each, and the remains of a pillar, semicircular in section, between the figures. Both wear similar shoes, with five parallel thongs passing over the instep. Dimensions of plinth, .09 × .495 × .196; poor work.

88 (Fig. 5). Fragment of head of child, with hair dressed so as to rise high in the centre; broken diagonally across from r. temple to neck below l. ear. H. .101; fair work, perhaps Julio-Claudian.

89. Female head, apparently unfinished, with



FIG. 10 (No. 86). TORSO-FRAGMENT IN STYLE OF PRAXITELES (?). (Scale 1 : 4.)

hair roughed out only; dressed smooth behind; tip of nose missing. H. .158.

90 (Fig. 5). Female head, wearing high plain *stephane*; perhaps broken off from a double herm; nose missing. H. .121; subject uncertain (Persephone?).

91. Small head, male (?). Chin and nose chipped away, and rest of surface much damaged. H. .07.

92. Portion of r. foot, rather more than half life-size; apparently Parian marble, with large crystals. Heel and toes lacking, and part of sole left rough where it rested on the base. L. .122.

93. Portion of r. hand, with remains of bent wrist; similar scale and marble to No. 92. An oval surface, left rough, on the back shews that it had rested on a support, palm upward. Fingers

and thumb broken off at top joint. L. over all .175.

94. R. hand, broken at wrist, holding an uncertain folded object which is broken away close to the fingers. L. of middle finger, .031.

95. Thumb only, *ca.* life-size, with small dowel-hole in base. L. .06.

96. Portion of small hand, holding uncertain

fillet and a small curl projects in front of each ear; it apparently fell in long locks on to the shoulders. Rectangular pillar behind the head, with dowel-hole .02 in diam. in upper surface; two more holes in the fracture at the neck point to an ancient repair. The type seems to indicate a fifth-century original.<sup>1</sup>

99 (Fig. 11). Double herm, broken below.

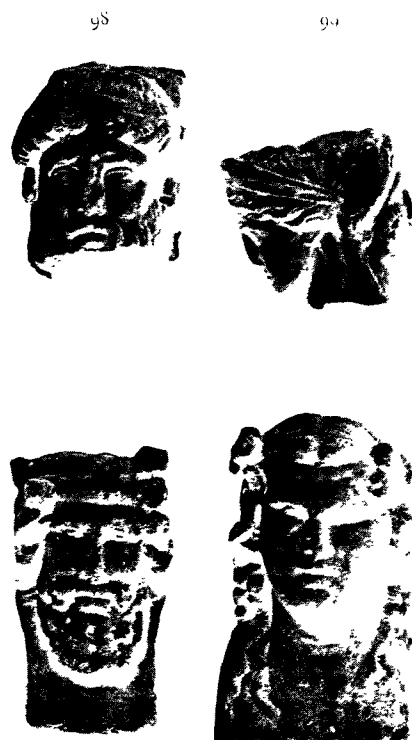


FIG. 11. TERMINAL HEADS. (Scale: 98, 1:6; 99, 102, 1:5; 100, 1:4½.)



FIG. 12 (No. 101). PAN, FROM A DOUBLE HERM. (Scale *ca.* 1:3.)

object, with fingers outspread and slightly bent. Poor work. L. of middle finger .045.

97. Two fingers, *ca.* three-quarters of life-size (if male), holding a rod. Possibly from figure of Bacchus or Mercury.

#### *Terminal Heads, etc.*

98 (Fig. 11). Head of bearded Bacchus. H. .152. Broken below, and chin and tip of nose missing. The hair is bound with a plain rounded

H. .108. Female head with plain *stephane*, and youthful male head with short curly hair secured by a fillet; the latter lacks the nose. Perhaps Apollo and Artemis (?).

100 (Fig. 11). Head of bearded Bacchus, wearing a vine-wreath with grapes and a plain fillet across the brow. Tip of nose and one grape of wreath lost. H. .165. A feeble copy of an unimportant type.

101 (Fig. 12). Head of Pan, from a double

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps related to that from which is derived the terminal bust in the Vatican (Mus. Chiaram. 685 A, Amelung, *Cat.* I. p. 779), in spite of differences of treatment.

herm. H. .273. The other head is lacking, perhaps having been intentionally split off. The beard is rendered in two locks; the bust left roughly tooled. Small fragments are missing from the nose, lower lip and bust on l. Horizontal dowel-holes on each side of bust, with remains of iron pin in one.

Reminiscent of Hellenistic work, perhaps from same original as the herm of Pan in the Lateran (Helbig, 636 = Reinach, *Répertoire* ii. p. 525, 7).

102 (Fig. 11). Head of youthful Bacchus. H. .21. The hair is combed smooth and parted in the centre, and is secured with an ivy wreath, with plain rounded fillet across the brow; two long locks fall in front on to each shoulder. Tip of nose and one ivy-leaf missing.

Poor superficial work; the drill in undercutting the hair has come through to the back of the head. A well-known type, of which Reinach, *op. cit.* ii. pp. 112 ff. gives many variants.

103. Headless bust of draped woman. H. .143; the bust, which is of very poor style, is worked hollow behind, except for a support.

### (3) 104-107. *Reliefs.*

104. Small fragment of a bust in green basalt. Head missing; broken below and on l., and worked smooth behind, shewing it to have been part of a relief (or possibly an acrolithic statue?). Remains of two curls on r. shoulder, and of pin securing drapery. Diam. of neck .075; th. of relief .05; horizontal dowel-hole .012 in diam. for attachment to background (or framework?).

105. Small fragment from a relief (sarcophagus?), broken on all sides. H. .108; max. depth of relief .025. Torso of male figure, of slender type, slightly inclined to l., with r. leg advanced; broken at waist and above knees.

106 (Fig. 13). Head of Satyr or rustic deity, from a relief. H. .152; br. .165. Upper r. corner lost, and broken below and on l. The back has been dressed with a toothed chisel only,

except for a border .037 wide, which is dressed smooth. The hair grows upwards from the forehead and falls in long curls, one of which covers



FIG. 13 (No. 106). RUSTIC DEITY. (Scale 1 : 3.)

the left ear; the overhanging brows, distended nostrils and wide-open mouth add ferocity to the expression.



FIG. 14 (No. 107). DANCING MAIDEN FROM WELL-HEAD. (Scale 1 : 5.)

We can scarcely identify the rustic deity represented here, as the type is not distinctive, but perhaps we may regard it as Faunus, as it so closely resembles the Faunus on one of the silver vessels from Hildesheim.<sup>1</sup> Such heads are common on the angles of lids of sarcophagi and

<sup>1</sup> Pernice-Winter, *Der Hildesheimer Silberfund*, p. 39, Fig. 15, and Plates XIV., XV.

in decorative friezes,<sup>1</sup> but this is in style rather above the normal.

107 (Fig. 14). Fragment of a curved relief, perhaps from a well-head. H. .266; th. of slab .037. Female figure wearing *stephane* advancing to r. with r. raised, presumably dancing. R. shoulder and breast are bare, and she holds drapery on l. shoulder between first finger and thumb. A poor copy or adaptation of a familiar type;<sup>2</sup> the r. hand is a very clumsy piece of work.

(4) 108-111. *Figures of Animals.*

108. Fragment from hind-leg of feline, possibly a panther (from a Dionysus-figure). H. .172; fair work.



FIG. 15 (No. 112). PANEL WITH SPHINX AND GRYPHON.  
(Scale 1:6.)

109. Fragment from the muzzle of a lioness, which had served as spout for a fountain. L. .101; diam. of aperture .022.

110. Duck, with bill pierced as a spout. L. .152; h. .095. Tail missing. Aperture under body.

111. Tortoise. L. .19; head and fore-legs missing. Small dowel-hole in neck by which head was attached separately, and two small dowel-holes in shell of back, to r. of centre. Presumably from a statue of Venus.

112 (Fig. 15). Fragment of a slab, probably from the end of a sarcophagus. Complete above and below. H. .49; br. averages .228, and was originally *ca.* .70 at least; max. th. .051. Left rough at back, except for a small area near the lower edge where some design in low relief seems to have been commenced but abandoned. In the centre is a sphinx seated to l., apparently on a tripod, but the face and most of the body, as well as two legs of the tripod, are missing. On the r. is a small gryphon, standing to l. with r. fore-leg raised.<sup>3</sup> Behind the latter is an uncertain object.

(5) *Altars, votive bases, architectural fragments, etc.*

113. Small columnar altar on triangular base. H. .178; diam. at top .14; pierced vertically with a hole *ca.* .057 in diameter.

114. Base from a small columnar altar. H. .07; br. and depth .178; broken.

115. Fragment of sculptured cornice from a small altar. H. .121; br. averages .088; max. th. .121. Complete above and behind only. The only decoration is a poor conventional palmette-motive.

116. Fragment of a hollow columnar altar, which has been re-used as a well-head, to judge by the rope-marks. H. .267; diam., inner .255, outer .42; broken below and in section. The column shaft is fluted and terminates above in a capital corresponding to no known order of architecture.

117. Upper part of a base for a votive object. H. .222; br. .21; th. .088. Broken below;

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Louvre, Reinach, *Repertoir*, i. p. 104, 2; p. 115, 1; Vatican (Gall. Lap. 177, Amelung, *Cat.* I. p. 291; *Col. Belvedere*, 39a, Amelung, *Cat.* II. p. 103).

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps a dancing maiden; certainly too sedate to be a Maenad.

<sup>3</sup> For sarcophagi with gryphons on the end cf. *J.H.S.* xv. (1900), pp. 82, 98 and Pls. VII., XII. and refs. to Robert, *Stad. Rom.* on p. 82.



there is a shallow sinking *ca.* .077 square in the middle of the upper surface. At the top is a cornice-moulding, and a second cornice with a dentil-moulding occurs .10 below the top; below this is the upper part of a winged Gorgoneion, but the stone is broken above the forehead.

118 (Fig. 16). Capital of composite (Ionic-Corinthian) pilaster. H. .464; original breadth of abacus .61, of shaft .432; max. depth of relief

surface is preserved. Above is a small circular dowel-hole, and at top and bottom of each side are clamp-holes .076 long and .022 wide, with some traces of iron preserved. On the front is a double spray of ivy-leaves; on the back and at each side are vertical motives of alternate darts and palmettes with pear-shaped leaves; on the back only are also clusters of berries in the field beside the main motive. Moderate work.

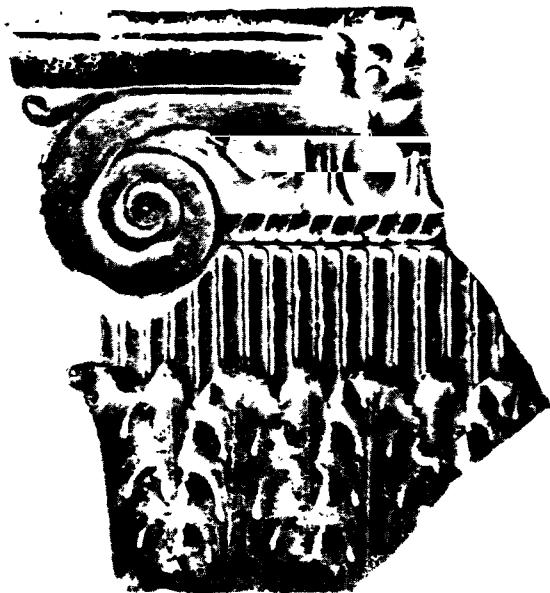


FIG. 16 (No. 118). PILASTER-CAPITAL. (Scale *ca.* 1:6.)

*ca.* .076. Broken on r. Between the volutes are three deeply cut *ova*, from above the centre of which springs a floral ornament; a lotus tendril springs from the top of the volute. Below the *ova* is a transverse band of rope-moulding, and below the fluted portion of the shaft is a band of 5 acanthus-leaves alternating with four tongues. Fairly good work, perhaps of mid-second century.<sup>1</sup>

119 (Fig. 17). Pilaster from a balustrade or screen. H. .42; br. .177; th. .07, broken above, and only a small portion of the lower



FIG. 17 (No. 119). DECORATIVE PILASTER. (Scale *ca.* 1:6.)

120. Fragment of a shallow triglyph-like slab with a plain cornice above, possibly from an altar. H. .254; br. .079; th. .11. Complete above only. Poor work.

121. Marble antefix with eagle in pediment. H. .235; br. .177; depth .28; broken behind. This bird with the appearance of a dissipated Skye terrier is hard to parallel for naïve ineptitude in any period of art.

122. Fragment of a frieze moulding, of unknown purpose. L. .28; h. .088; depth .069; broken on l. only. Ornamented with a

<sup>1</sup> It contrasts unfavourably with the fine composite capitals from the Forum of Trajan (cf. Anderson-Spiers-Ashby, *Architecture of Rome*, Pl. XXV).

row of alternating spirals from which fall tassels in pairs, alternately downward and upward.

123. Fragment of the volute of an Ionic capital; present diam.  $\cdot 14$ ; much broken.

124. Small fragment of an Ionic column, of crystalline limestone, with remains of five flutings; broken through and mended; surface burnt and chipped. H.  $\cdot 065$ ; width of flutes  $\cdot 026$ , of arris  $\cdot 06$ .

125. Volute of an Ionic capital, with tongue and dart ornament in relief on the side of the volute. H.  $\cdot 175$ ; of coarse tufa; perhaps early work.

126. Antefix (?), consisting of a nine-leaved palmette springing from the centre of a half-opened blossom. H.  $\cdot 215$ ; max. br.  $\cdot 127$ ; broken; similar material to the last.

127. Fragment of an antefix, perhaps of similar type, but badly weathered and broken. H.  $\cdot 133$ ; br.  $\cdot 152$ .

(6). *Miscellaneous ornamental fragments, in marble.*

128. Fragment from the rim of a large marble crater, with egg-and-tongue ornament. L.  $\cdot 23$ .

129. Ditto, with egg-and-tongue ornament enclosed below with a narrow beading, and remains of lotus-pattern on under surface. Poorer work than the preceding No. L.  $\cdot 173$ .

130. Ditto, with *guilloche* border enclosed on each side with beading, and coarse egg-and-tongue ornament above.<sup>1</sup> L.  $\cdot 12$ .

131. *a, b* (Fig. 18). Two fragments from a candelabrum shaft: (*a*) H.  $\cdot 40$ ; circumference below,  $\cdot 38$ , and at a point *ca.*  $\cdot 25$  above this,  $\cdot 345$ ; (*b*) H.  $\cdot 18$ ; circumference below,  $\cdot 25$ ; both are decorated with narrow spiral flutings and closed acanthus-leaves. The latter fragment was identified by the finder as a spoke from the wheel of the chariot which he believed to have formed part of the group of equestrian figures,<sup>2</sup> but, as I have previously pointed

out,<sup>3</sup> it is clearly to be connected with (*a*) as part of a candelabrum shaft. We cannot ascertain the original height of this shaft, both fragments being broken at each end, but assuming a regular decrease in diameter of  $\cdot 035$  in  $\cdot 25$  m. as visible in fragment (*a*) ( $= \cdot 14$  in 1 m.), rather more than  $\cdot 50$  is lost between the top of (*a*) and the bottom of (*b*), giving an original height of *ca.*  $1\cdot 10$  at least. Candelabra of this type are common, especially in the Roman Imperial period. Cf. Daremberg and Saglio, *s.v.*, Fig. 1092;



FIG. 18 (No. 131). FRAGMENTS OF CANDELABRUM.  
(Scale *ca.* 1 : 6.)

Reinach, *op. cit.* i. p. 127 (four examples in the Louvre), though none of these exhibit the spiral flutings.

The ornate example in the British Museum, *B.M. Sculp.* iii. 2508 (= *Mus. Marbles*, i. Pl. 5), seems actually to have been found many years ago at the same site, but these pieces can hardly be connected with it.

132 (Fig. 19). Small votive patera of coloured marble (Brescian?), bearing the inscription Q. LABE.Q.F.IOVI BEONO.<sup>4</sup> This is appar-

<sup>1</sup> On a label is written 'Nel giardino del mio Villino, Aprile. 85.'

<sup>2</sup> *Archaeologia*, xlix. p. 375, and Pl. 27, 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Papers*, B.S.R. vii. p. 65.

<sup>4</sup> = *C.I.L.* xiv. 4177; there is no doubt about either the reading or the antiquity of the inscription.

ently unique both as a title of Jupiter and for its orthography (*beono* = *bono*). H. .045; diam. .107. For the donor's name *Q. Labe(rius)* we may compare *Q. Laberius Q. L(ibertus)*, *C.I.L.* xiv. 2143, apparently also from Lanuvium.<sup>1</sup>

133 (in the British Museum, *B.M. Sculp.* iii.

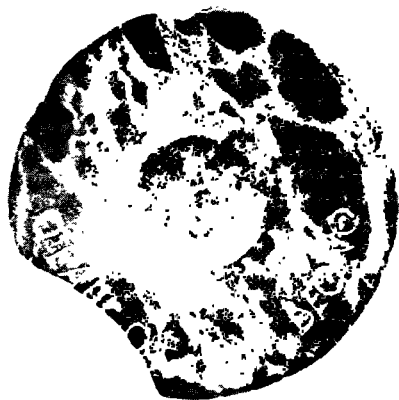


FIG. 19 (No. 132). VOTIVE PATERA. (Scale 1:2.)

2547; a cast at Leeds). Sundial, with dial in the form of the eighth part of a hollow sphere, graduated with twelve hour spaces on the concave surface. The lead remains with which the gnomon was attached. Limestone. H. .235; br. .286.

134. Small fragment, broken below only; rectangular in section, with a narrow vertical raised rib along centre of back and front; on the front,

shallow grooves run upwards and outwards from the central rib, leaf-fashion. A projecting tenon is broken off below. Perhaps a decorative finial from a chair-back; it seems too small for a sword-hilt. H. .065; br. .045; th. .03.

135. Small rectangular block of marble, broken at one end; the other surfaces are dressed smooth. L. .105; br. and th. .045.

136 (a-d). Four small shapeless fragments of Italian marble, much weathered.

#### (7) Marble Panelling.

137-72. Thirty-six fragments of marble slabs, varying in thickness from .011-.035. The largest is of cipollino, .38 long; two seem to belong to a circular plaque of red porphyry, of which material there are five pieces in all. Other marbles represented include yellow African, *verde antico*, red Laconian and white (Italian), the last most plentiful. Most are rough behind, and a few have moulded edges; the majority are small and need no further description.

#### (8) Stone Implements.

173. Polished stone pounder of dark green basalt, oval in section. L. .115.

174. Another, oval in shape with vertical sides. L. .076.

### TERRACOTTA OBJECTS.

#### (A) ARCHITECTURAL (Nos. 1-137).

THE great majority of the best architectural terracottas from the site presumed to be that of the temple of Juno are in the British Museum, and are included in Mr. H. B. Walters' *Catalogue* (1903).<sup>2</sup> The pieces in Leeds, though smaller

and less important, include nevertheless some interesting examples which seem to deserve illustration as well as description. It is not practicable—nor am I qualified—to attempt in this catalogue a full discussion of all the Lanuvium terra-

<sup>1</sup> The connection of this family with Lanuvium is pointed out by Lord Savile, *Archæologia*, xlix. p. 370.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. B 605-615; D 711 ff.; note that D 576 is a Roman mural relief; E 144 is a Roman tile; B 616, 617, D 756-769,

771, 772, 776 are not architectural. That the identification by Lord Savile of this site as that of the Juno-temple is erroneous has been pointed out above.

cottas, of which the need has long been felt,<sup>1</sup> but it seems worth while to combine here the British Museum and Leeds pieces and re-group them on the lines followed by Koch in his admirable study of the Campanian terracottas,<sup>2</sup> and, moreover, in the light of the recent study of the later fragments from Falerii (in vol. viii. of these *Papers*, pp. 1-34).

*Clay.*—Considerable differences are to be noticed in the material of which these fragments are made. In general, two clearly defined types of clay must be distinguished, the former being impure and full of particles of grit, which is mostly black but includes small particles of quartz and mica, while the latter is a more finely levigated clay, with little foreign matter except small lumps of pounded reddish-brown terracotta. The proportion of grit in the former class varies to some extent; and the colour, according to accidents of firing, ranges from an even creamy shade, sometimes almost bluff or straw-colour, to deep pink or brownish-grey. The other class is usually reddish-brown, but sometimes pink with a grey surface. A few miscellaneous fragments, free from grit, are of a rich creamy shade, and appear to be uniformly late in date, perhaps of the Imperial area. It seems clear that the gritty fragments are definitely earlier than the other group, and an approximate dividing line between them might be tentatively fixed at 400 B.C., but only as a rough indication, and one or two pieces seem to furnish exceptions to this classification.

*Paint.*—The two colours most usually employed are a deep red, approaching rather to Pompeian red than to crimson, and a deep brownish-purple, which is perhaps in reality a faded black, and is so described. On some of the later pieces only

there is a wider range, including a light Prussian blue, pink, and a pale orange-yellow. Sometimes the colours are laid direct on the clay of the early fragments, but more usually they are on a creamy slip of varying thickness. Some of the later pieces have a thick chalky-white slip like pipe-clay, and in one instance (No. 65), where the fluted tongue-mouldings of a kymation-cornice are painted alternately red and yellow, in each case on a white slip, a red stripe is visible underneath the yellow, indicating, presumably, a re-decoration to have taken place. In a few instances a shallow incised line is visible, which served as a guide to the painter; this seems to be exceptional, but had we more examples of painted ornament on flat surfaces which included circles, we should no doubt find that they had been set out with a compass.<sup>3</sup>

*Baking.*—The durability of the colour on the earlier pieces leaves no doubt that they were baked again after painting; it is, however, probable that some of the later pieces, from which the colour has almost or entirely disappeared, were not rebaked,<sup>4</sup> or at any rate not again subjected to a high temperature.

*Provenance.*—The brief account of the discovery of the more interesting of these terracottas, given by Lord Savile in his report,<sup>5</sup> gives no help towards the problem of allocating them to their original positions on the structure (or structures?) from which they have come. It seems likely, as he points out, that, in view of their almost undamaged condition, the two finest antefixes with female heads (Nos. 4 and 6 below) had been taken down and carefully buried, for it is hard to believe that they could have fallen without being shattered.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *L.g.* by Mrs. Strong, *J.R.S.* iv. (1914), p. 166, note 6.

<sup>2</sup> H. Koch, *Dachterrakotten aus Campanien* [Berlin, 1912]; I have found this work most helpful with regard to the interpretation of many of the Leeds fragments. A few of the Lanuvium pieces have been recently republished by Mrs. E. Van Buren in her *Figurative Terra-Cotta Revetments in Etruria and Latium in the VI. and V. centuries B.C.*, to which references are given below, where necessary.

<sup>3</sup> As Koch noticed on Campanian examples, *op. cit.* p. 13:

naturally where the colour is applied to details of ornament in relief, guide-lines are not needed.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Koch, *op. cit.* p. 14.

<sup>5</sup> *Archæologia*, liii. p. 151.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Bendinelli, *op. cit.* p. 342, note 1, who compares the deposit found at Veii, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1919, pp. 15 ff. It is natural to share his regret that no exact record was kept of the objects accompanying the antefixes in the deposit at Lanuvium.

## INVENTORY.

1. *Eave-tiles.*

1 (B.M. B 610 (17)). Fragment of tile flat on one side and slightly concave on the other: the flat surface is bevelled away at one end, and there is a small rectangular projection at the other end. Along the upper edge is a painted dentil pattern; the dentils spring from a blue band, and are each divided into three stripes of white, blue and black respectively; the moulded end is coloured red. H. .241; br. .241.

2 (B.M. B 611). Fragment of tile with slightly curved surface covered with a white slip; on the front are painted an undulating band in red and a maeander pattern in red and black; on the top is a band of black. H. .165; br. .075.

3 (Leeds, Inv. No. 4). Fragment of flat tile, with outer edge complete. Early type, of gritty clay, with creamy slip; traces of red on lower side and a black lozenge on edge. H. .125; br. .17; th. .044.

2. *Antefixes.*

The evolution of the antefix from a decorative attachment to mask the outer end of the curved cover-tile (*kalypter*) into an elaborate plastic relief in which the curved tile terminates is not illustrated by the Lanuvium specimens, as they all belong to the developed stage. The transition from the small diameter of the tile to the larger one of the elaborate antefix involved a structural problem solved at first by increasing the diameter of the tile as it approached the antefix;<sup>1</sup> a subsequent stage seems represented by a thickened rib along the top of the tile, sloping up to the top of the rear-surface of the antefix, or sometimes a double rib; another alternative, well illustrated at Lanuvium, is for the rib to rise sharply close to the antefix and be undercut on the inner side, forming in fact a handle. Several of these 'handles,' some oval and some rectangular in section, are in the

Leeds collection.<sup>2</sup> Antefixes Nos. 4 and 6 have them unbroken. It is interesting to notice that on the Campanian antefixes, the 'handle' type of attachment is exceptional among the early specimens, and common among the later.<sup>3</sup> The antefixes of the finest period are normally to a slight extent concave in section, and as they were set at right angles to the slope of the roof and not to the level of the ground, must have appeared to look down on to anyone approaching the building from the side.

(a) *Archaic Types.*

4 (B.M. B 605). Female head in relief, within an arched frame. The hair is parted and elaborately crimped, and looped up over the ears, falling in three plaits down each side; she wears a *stephane* ornamented with patterns of maeander, and diagonal crosses in purple and black, circular earrings with black centres, and necklace. The hair and eyes are painted black, the necklace purple. The inner edge of the frame ends in double volutes, on the ends of which rest palmettes with five lobes, painted black and purple; round the frame are (1) an open-work honeycomb pattern, picked out in black and purple, (2) a raised fillet with groups of three chevrons in purple and black, and (3) an outer border of moulded leaf or tongue pattern, the centres alternately black and purple. Projection at back complete. H. .381 (= 15 ins.). *Archaeologia*, liii., Pl. 7, p. 151; *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1889, p. 247; *Builder*, 4 March, 1899, p. 220; *J.R.S.* iv. (1914), p. 168, Fig. 17 (head on r.); E. Van Buren, *Figurative Terra-Cotta Revetments*, p. 21 (Type XX), and Pl. XIV., Fig. 1.<sup>4</sup>

5 (Pl. XXVIIa. B.M. B 606). Similar head. On the *stephane*, maeander only; the necklace has a pendant in the middle. On the outer raised fillet of the frame in place of the chevrons is a twisted pattern in red and black.

Restored, except head; support at back broken

<sup>1</sup> See Koch's sketches, *op. cit.* pp. 4 ff., Figs. 2-10, which well illustrate various types of attachment to, or strengthening of, the back of the antefix.

<sup>2</sup> Nos. 47-50 below.

<sup>3</sup> Koch, *op. cit.* p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> For other examples (2) found in Rome, and one at Lanuvium, now in the local Museum, cf. E. Van Buren, *op. cit.* p. 21.

away, but the semi-cylindrical roof-tile to which it was attached remains.

H. 381. *J.R.S.*, *loc.* (head on l.).

6 (Pl. XXVIIb. Leeds, Inv. No. 1). Similar head. On the *stephane*, remains of zigzag lines, perhaps diagonal crosses as on No. 4; the necklace has a pendant, and below this the top hem of the garment is represented by four lozenges in rectangular compartments. The background between the outer plaits of hair and the bases of the palm-ettes of the frame is not cut away, as it is in Nos. 4 and 5. H. 381. Portions of frame restored; attachment and roof-tile complete. Colour as on No. 5, with twisted pattern on fillet, but much of the paint has perished.

7 (Fig. 29, 3. Leeds, Inv. No. 3). Fragment from frame of a similar head, with certain differences, viz. outside the outer border of tongue pattern is another raised fillet half-round in section, with a twisted pattern in red and black, from which project blunt-ended teeth, .022 long; on these is a narrow stripe of red paint, the base of the teeth is picked out with black. For details of colouring, see Fig. 29, 3. The clay is of the same gritty type as in Nos. 4-6, with which this fragment is contemporary. H. 14.

8 (B.M. B 618; E. Van Buren, *op. cit.*, p. 19, type XIV, and Pl. XII., Fig. 3).<sup>1</sup> Part of antefix in form of a female head. The face is oval, with a firm, cleft chin, almond-shaped eyes with thick lids, and a small straight mouth. The hair is parted and crimped, with a double diadem; there is a maeander pattern on the lower band, that above being indistinct. Broken at neck and on l. H. 083.

9 (B.M. B 619; E. Van Buren, *op. cit.* p. 19, type XV, and Pl. XII., Fig. 4).<sup>1</sup> Similar fragment, with hair arranged in close scallops round

the forehead. Red colour on lips and pupils. Broken at back, above and on l. H. 13.

10 (B.M. B 620). Male (?) head, beardless, perhaps from an antefix. The hair is not worked (or is covered with a thick cap?). The head is moulded hollow; broken off at neck, injured and repaired at back. H. 124.

11 (Fig. 31. Leeds, Inv. No. 17). Female head, apparently from an antefix. The hair is parted, and gathered in thick tresses. Broken on all sides, chin and lower part of cheeks missing. Clay of gritty type, as Nos. 4-7. Thick slip of creamy shade, almost like an enamel, much chipped. The head is worked hollow at the back, and has traces of a projection from the lower portion. Late fifth-century work. H. 13.

12 (B.M. B 614 and Fig. 41 *ad loc.*). Part of antefix, forming head of bearded Satyr in relief. He has a moustache, and a row of spiral curls round the ears, which are of bestial form; over the forehead are two large bunches of grapes and a triple-ribbed fillet. The face has been painted bright red. H. 158. Projection at back broken off; head broken away below mouth and at sides. Cf. Campana, *Ant. opere in plastica*, Pl. 28.

13 (B.M. B 615). Antefix with relief of Satyr and Maenad. The Satyr moves to r., his face and body to the front; his r. hand is placed on his hip, and grasps a serpent; he looks forward with l. hand raised to shade his eyes.<sup>2</sup> He is bearded and wears a wreath, and a skin over his arms; his beard is painted black, his flesh and the skin a bright red. The Maenad on his l. also moves to r., with body and face turned to the front and looks expectantly forward; her hair is parted and waved under a fillet or cap, and she wears a long chiton, and himation over l. shoulder. Her

<sup>1</sup> These two heads are not catalogued as belonging to antefixes in *B.M. Cat.*, but Mrs. Van Buren rightly identifies them as such; a duplicate example from Orvieto is quoted and reproduced for the former, and duplicates of the latter exist at Orvieto and Munich (illustrated in her Fig. 4). Note that the references to *B.M. Cat.* should be transposed in her publication, as B 618 is given erroneously as her type XV.

<sup>2</sup> A. S. Murray, *J.H.S.*, *loc.*, and Walters, *B.M. Terracottae*, *ad. loc.*, compare the attitude of the Satyr described by Pliny, *H.N.* xxxv. 138, as *Aposcopuonta*. Cf. E. Van Buren, *op. cit.* p. 24 f., both for further references in Greek literature to this attitude, and for further varieties of the Satyr-Maenad type of antefix from Satricum, Talerii, etc., and *op. cit.* Pl. XV. For later examples from Lanuvium, see Nos. 24-28 below.

himation is coloured red, with white embattled border, and on her face and hair are remains of black; her arms are not indicated. In front of the pair a panther springs to r., painted dun-colour with black markings; below is a plinth coloured red. H. .413. *J.H.S.* xiii. (1892-3), pp. 315-18 (with drawing and section); Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke*, p. 251 (not in English translation). Projection at back broken; colour faded in places.

14 (Figs. 22 and 29, 1. Leeds. Inv. No. 18). Upper part of Gorgoneion (from antefix?). The back is flat, but the line of breakage coincides with traces of an attachment, above which the existing portion of the head projected. The hair is rendered in ten locks which are merely elongated lumps with serrated edges. The eyes are large and the pupils are slightly hollowed out; the upper and lower lids do not quite join at the inner angles; a faint ridge indicates the eyebrows. The ears, which wear circular earrings, are unsymmetrical. Owing to damage to the mouth it is not certain—though probable—that the tongue projected. The tip of the nose has also suffered. H. .111; max. thickness .052. Reddish-brown clay with small fragments of pounded terracotta. Light-brown slip but no traces of paint. This would seem to be archaic, in spite of the clay which is usually typical of the later pieces.

(b) *Later Antefixes* (? 400 B.C. onwards).

15 (B.M. D 725). Antefix with design in high relief of youth and woman, both nude, and turned to the front. Both figures move to l., the woman reluctantly, the man dragging her along; with her l. hand she tries to detach his grasp from her wrist. The group may represent the rape of Persephone or Oreithyia. The man is coloured red, the woman yellow; below is a plinth, on which is a red stripe. H. .356; nearly complete; end of projection broken; heads of figures broken off; repaired in parts.

16 (B.M. D 726). Antefix with relief of head of Medusa of transitional type; flat nose and staring eyes, protruding tongue, and thick wild hair brushed back from the face; the pupils of the eyes are hollowed out. On the top is an acanthus plant and on either side tendrils. The lines throughout have been touched up with a tool after moulding. H. .173; top part broken away, and projection at back wanting.

17 (Fig. 22, 2. Leeds. Inv. No. 14). Antefix with relief of female head (of Medusa?), of less repellent aspect than the last. Her hair is parted in the centre, and slightly waved, with 8 curls projecting, which take the form of tendrils; the lowest pair curve downwards, the rest upwards. The mouth is almost closed. The neck is short, and rests on a plain flat moulding with rectangular edges. H. .108; max. depth .124. Reddish sandy clay; no traces of colour. Broken above, nose chipped, and attachment, in form of a rib running up from semi-cylindrical tile, broken off short. Dates from the third century, B.C., or even later.<sup>1</sup>

18 (B.M. D 727). Antefix. Female head in relief, with hair parted into thick waves each side; below and round the face are tendrils. Remains of red colouring throughout. H. .165; top and sides broken away, also part of projection at back, which is continued below the lower moulding of the front, lower part of face obliterated.

19 (B.M. D 729). Antefixal ornament, with mask of Dionysus or bearded Satyr wearing large ivy-wreath forming a sort of canopy over the head, and *ampyx* over the forehead; on either side of the face are clusters of ivy berries, with a large rosette below. The mouth is open; the beard falls in straggling locks. Remains of red colour throughout. H. .235; lower part and back restored.

20 (B.M. D 730). Fragment of similar ornament, but only the upper part of the face and the wreath remain, the rest being restored from No. 19. H. (of antique part) .114; traces of black but no red colour.

<sup>1</sup> No similar antefix type appears in Koch's book.

21 (Fig. 20. B.M. D 731). Part of antefix, with relief of Artemis as *πότνια θηρῶν* to the front.<sup>1</sup> A long tress of hair falls on each shoulder, and she wears long girt chiton with *apoptygma*, and bracelets; there are remains of large wings at the sides, and in either hand she holds the fore-paw of a lion (only the head and fore-paws remaining). H. .197; head and legs of Artemis wanting; projection at back broken off. Discoloured by fire. Reproduced also by Bendinelli, (*Mon. Ant.* 1921, p. 337, Fig. 20), who attributes it on account of its poor style to the latest years of the Republic.

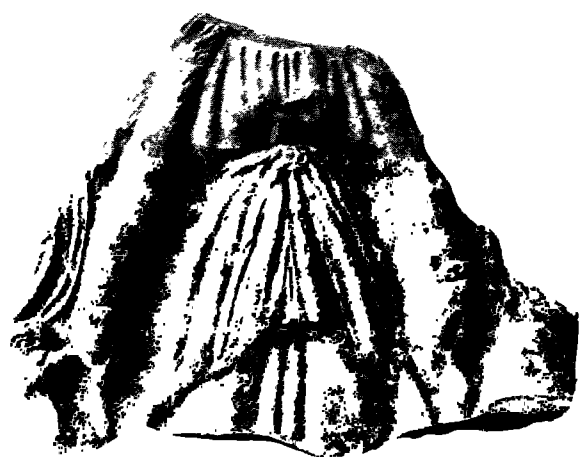


FIG. 20 (No. 21). PART OF ANTEFIX WITH ARTEMIS  
*Πότνια θηρῶν*. (Scale 1 : 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ .)

22 (B.M. D 732). Part of antefix, as the last. Artemis wears long chiton with stole and shoes; the lower part of the lion at her l. side remains. The design is covered with a white slip; below is a plinth. H. .146; projection broken off.

23 (B.M. D 733). Part of antefix as the two last, with lower part of Artemis wearing long chiton and shoes, and at her l. side a lion springing up. H. .143; head of lion wanting; traces of projection at back; surface scraped.

24 *a* (Fig. 21. B.M. D 734). Part of large antefix as No. 13 above (B 615), Satyr and Nymph moving to l., the Nymph in advance, but more in the background; his r. arm is placed

round her waist. She wears a long girt chiton on which are remains of red colour. H. .232; br. .17. Both figures broken off from waist upwards; projection at back nearly complete. (Cf. Bendinelli, *loc. cit.*, Fig. 19.)

*b* (B.M. D 746). Part of a duplicate of the last, giving parts of r. leg of both figures; remains of red colour. H. .115; projection at back partly preserved.



FIG. 21 (No. 24*a*). PART OF ANTEFIX WITH SATYR AND  
NYMPH. (Scale 1 : 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ .)

*c* (B.M. D 748). Part of another duplicate of the two last, with the lower part of body and l. thigh of Satyr, coloured red. H. .14; surface worn.

25 (B.M. D 735). Part of antefix in high relief with Satyr seizing Nymph. He stoops forward, placing l. arm round her breast; she wears long chiton with *apoptygma*. H. .175; head of Satyr, and legs from knees wanting; of the Nymph only part of the body remains.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the specimen from Capua, B.M. B 588, and Koch's restored drawing of it, *op. cit.*, Pl. xvi. 2.



26 (B.M. D 736). Part of antefix, as the last. The Satyr places r. hand round her neck and l. hand on her r. breast; her r. arm is raised (?). Traces of red colour. H. .111; br. .178; of the Satyr the l. arm and part of body remain; of the Nymph, the upper part of the body.

27 (B.M. D 737). Part of antefix as the last; of both figures only the lower part of the body and part of the thighs remain. Traces of yellow colour on a white slip. H. .101; br. .173; traces of projection at back.

28 (B.M. D 738). Small fragment of similar antefix. Of the Nymph the upper part of the body remains; of the Satyr, only the l. arm and hand grasping her r. breast; remains of dark red colour. H. .083; br. .12.

29 (B.M. D 739). Part of large antefix. Lower part of woman with r. leg bent, wearing long chiton; at her l. side is a knotted staff. The chiton is painted yellow (faded from red?) with broad purple border. H. .242.

30 (B.M. D 740). Lower part of antefix, with projecting moulding along the base; on the l. side is part of a woman's leg, in high relief, the foot pointing outwards; the rest of the surface is plain, with remains of colour. H. .204; br. .102; repaired.

31 (B.M. D 741). Part of antefix. Lower part of draped woman moving rapidly to r., in high relief; she wears a long chiton with purple border. H. .165; part of projection remaining.

32 (B.M. D 742). Part of antefix (or panel?). Upper part of body and l. arm of woman to the front, holding a pomegranate in l. hand on r. breast; she wears long chiton with *apophygma*. Remains of red colour. H. .102.

33 (B.M. D 747). Part of antefix (or panel?). Thigh of man, in high relief; on either side, unintelligible objects. Hollowed out at back, following outline of thigh. H. .076.

34 (B.M. D 749). Part of antefix (?). Body and thighs of nude boy, in very high relief, the r. thigh raised horizontally; has been coloured red. H. .19.

35 (B.M. D 750). Fragment of antefix, with

lower part of draped figure, coloured red. H. .121.

36 (B.M. D 754). Part of antefix (or panel?). Woman, in relief, to the front, wearing long chiton and himation over l. shoulder; her l. arm, broken off at the elbow, was raised. In front of her r. shoulder is the bent l. arm of a man, with part of a panther's skin hanging over the shoulder. Of the woman only the torso and l. arm remain. Traces of red colour. H. .158.

37 (B.M. D 770). Part of antefix. Lower part of a woman to front, from below the hips, with feet parallel, wearing long chiton. Perhaps an Artemis, as Nos. 21-23 above (= D 731-3). H. .171.

38 (Fig. 30, 1. Leeds, Inv. No. 13). Part of antefix, in form of a palmette springing from a Comic mask. The mask has an enormous open mouth, nose like a Silenus, and eyebrows running obliquely upwards from the point of meeting; the hair hangs down in long bedraggled strands. From the top and sides of the head springs an elaborate palmette, mostly lost. Complete below, and at one point on r. only; broken at back, but shews remains of projection. Reddish clay, of late type; deep-red paint on lips and eyebrows. H. .133; br. .15.

(c) *Antefixes with floral designs only.*

39 (B.M. D 751). Part of antefix with elaborate acanthus plant; part of projection behind is preserved. H. .14; the clay is fine and reddish-buff to brown in colour.

40 (B.M. D 752). Part of antefix, as the last; no projection remaining, and back flat; plinth below. H. .124; clay similar, but paler.

41 (B.M. D 753). Part of antefix, with palmette in high relief (late type, ends of leaves voluted); on the l., part of a large pine-cone. Projection at back wanting. Complete on r. only; reddish-brown clay with fragments of pounded terracotta. Nail-hole in break on l. H. .133; th. .018.

42 (Fig. 29, 4. Leeds, Inv. No. 16). Small fragment of similar antefix, comprising part of a

pine-cone bounded with a narrow fillet. Back flat; similar clay to the last. H. .086.

43 (Fig. 22. Leeds, Inv. No. 13). Fragment of antefix in the form of a palmette, of which the lobes to r. and l. of the central one curl outwards and end in volutes. Reworked with a tool after moulding. No traces of colour, nor of attachment at back. H. .18; original breadth .19; similar clay to the last.

44 (Fig. 22. Leeds, Inv. No. 15). Small, much broken fragment of similar type; the lobes



FIG. 22. VARIOUS ANTEFIX-FRAGMENTS. (Scale 1:3.)

curl inwards, and holes are pierced through the centres of the volutes. Remains of attachment in form of a vertical rib, diminishing in size towards the top. H. .125; similar clay to the last. Poor work.

45 (Fig. 22. Leeds, Inv. No. 13). (a) Large fragment from the left, and (b) small fragment from the right of elaborate antefix with acanthus in deep relief; remains of projection of semi-cylindrical *kalypter* at back. Broken above. H. (a) .11; (b) .065; similar clay to the last; fair work (fourth (?) century).

46 (Fig. 22). Leeds, Inv. No. 13). Fragment of antefix in form of palmette, of which the lobes curl inwards, ending in volutes. Remains of attachment at back, as on No. 44; broken below. H. .125, br. .145, similar clay to the last.

47 (Leeds, Inv. No. 4, both). Two complete handle-shaped supports from the back of antefixes, oval in section. L. (along outside of curve) .38; reddish-brown clay.

48 (Leeds, Inv. No. 4, all). Eight fragments of varying length from similar supports, roughly rectangular in section. These range in length from .28 to .14, and are of creamy, gritty clay, resembling that of the complete antefixes, Nos. 4-6 above. One is pierced transversely, in line of break, with a nail-hole.

49 (Leeds, Inv. Nos. 12 and 15). Fragment, joined together<sup>1</sup> from three small scraps, of the ribbed attachment from the back of an antefix. L. .15; gritty grey clay, with creamy slip.

50 (Leeds, Inv. No. lacking). Small fragment from a similar attachment; similar clay with traces of burning. L. .05.

51 (Leeds, Inv. No. 3). Small fragment from the inner, undecorated end of a semi-cylindrical *kalypter*-tile. L. .09; inner diam. .10; yellowish gritty clay.

### 3. *Kymation-mouldings*.

These are all, apparently, from the cornice standing on the upper edge of the gable.<sup>2</sup> It is impossible to say whether all belong to one building only; in any case they cannot be all contemporary, and the later fragments by far outnumber the earlier.

#### (a) *Early*.

52 (B.M. B 609). Portion of cornice, restored, comprising the following members: (1) below, a large fillet (or, rather, *torus*) with painted patterns

<sup>1</sup> By my-eli.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the restoration of a similar cornice from the large

temple at Falerii (third-second centuries B.C.), by Mary Taylor and H. C. Bradshaw, *Papers, B.S.R.* viii. p. 28, and Pl. II.

in black and red, pierced with holes for attachment to the wood-work; (2) a flat band, painted with maeander pattern in black and red; (3) a half-round fillet, painted red; (4) a vertical member curving outwards above, with a plain band above and a flat top, with the front moulded in the form of a tongue pattern, red with black edges. L. 1.372; h. .42; gritty clay.

53 (B.M. B 610 (13)). Fragment from similar cornice, consisting of moulded tongue-pattern, the centres painted red, with a fillet below on which are traces of a twisted pattern in black, and a band of red above; the back flat; hole pierced for attachment. Complete above only. H. .114; br. .095; yellowish gritty clay.

54 (B.M. B 610 (14)). Similar fragment, with convex surface covered with a buff slip, on which are painted lotus flowers and buds with tendrils in purple and black; above is a black band. H. .152.

55 (Leeds, Inv. No. 9). Fragment from a similar cornice, consisting of a single  $\frac{3}{4}$ -round fillet which formed one of the vertical tongues of the curved member; the upper part of the back is bevelled away; pierced with a nail-hole near the top. Red on tongue. H. .145.

3 (b). *Later types* (comprising the same members).

56 (Fig. 23, 1. Leeds, Inv. No. 5). Portion of cornice completed in plaster. The moulded tongues are separated by plain flat ribs .018 wide. Traces of red and yellow on flat band below fillet, and of red on tongues. H. .485; l. .71,<sup>1</sup> fine pinkish-grey clay, almost free from grit.

57 (Fig. 23, 2. Leeds, Inv. No. lacking). Similar, completed in plaster. Narrow rectangular sinkings, .015 wide, between the moulded tongues. Maeander (restored in drawing) in red and black on flat band below fillet; traces of red on fillet, and of red stripes on the tongues. H. .483; l. 57.<sup>1</sup>

58 (Leeds, Inv. No. 9). Fragment of similar cornice. The moulded tongues are separated by

narrow sunk flutings .02 wide. The tongues (commencing from r.) are painted yellow, blue, red, yellow, etc. Broken on l. and below; remains of eight tongues. L. .545.

59 (Leeds, Inv. No. 9). Small fragment, similar to the last. The tongues are coloured similarly, but that on the r. is red; no colour visible on plain fascia below upper fillet. Complete on r. only. H. .115; l. .115.

60 (Leeds, Inv. No. 9). Two fragments from similar cornice, which do not join. (a) Complete above only; h. .17; l. 20; (b) broken on all sides; h. .18; l. .13. Width of tongues .05, of intervals, which are shallow flutings, .017. Cream slip; red stripe on each tongue, black round top of each and in intervals.

61 (Leeds, Inv. No. 5). Similar cornice-slab. Put together from eight fragments, and completed in plaster. Ten tongues remain on upper member, each .045 wide, separated by shallow flutings .015 wide. Traces of red on tongues only. H. .365; l. .575; incomplete below and on l.

62 (Leeds, Inv. No. 5). Similar cornice slab, broken below and mended. Details of tongues, etc. as last. H. .30; l. .59.

63 (Leeds, Inv. No. 9). Similar slab, broken into four pieces; traces of red in tongues, of which details are as on two last. On plain fascia below fillet, faint traces of maeander pattern alternating with spirals or circles. H. .39; l. .63.

64 (Leeds, Inv. No. 9 (?)). Small fragment from similar slab, broken on all sides. Remains of flat fascia below fillet only, with indistinct traces of maeander in red and black. H. .10; l. .16; th. .035; greyish clay with chalky white slip.

65 (Fig. 23, 3a. Leeds, Inv. Nos. 6 and 12). Two fragments, which join,<sup>2</sup> from cornice slab, with remains of tongues, fillet and flat band below. The tongues are irregular, and were apparently alternately .036 and .03 wide, separated by fluted grooves .016 wide. Chalky white slip all over front; in the tongues alternately deep red and orange-yellow (laid over deep red); greyish-blue,

<sup>1</sup> The drawing does not represent the original length to scale.

<sup>2</sup> Mended by myself.

which is perhaps faded black, in narrow grooves; maeander in red and black on fascia below fillet. H. .23; l. .15; th. .042; brownish clay, with creamy yellow slip behind. Traces of handle-attachment at back, showing that it was supported in the same way as an antefix, as at Falerii (*Papers*, *B.S.R.* viii. Pl. II.).

66 (Leeds, Inv. No. 9). Fragment from similar

with remains of two tongues only, much damaged. H. .16; l. .16.

69 (Leeds, Inv. No. 9). Similar fragment, broken on all sides; remains of tongues alternately .044 and .022 wide. Remains of attachment at back. H. .05; l. .155; coarse red clay with white slip.

70 (Leeds, Inv. No. lacking). Fragment from

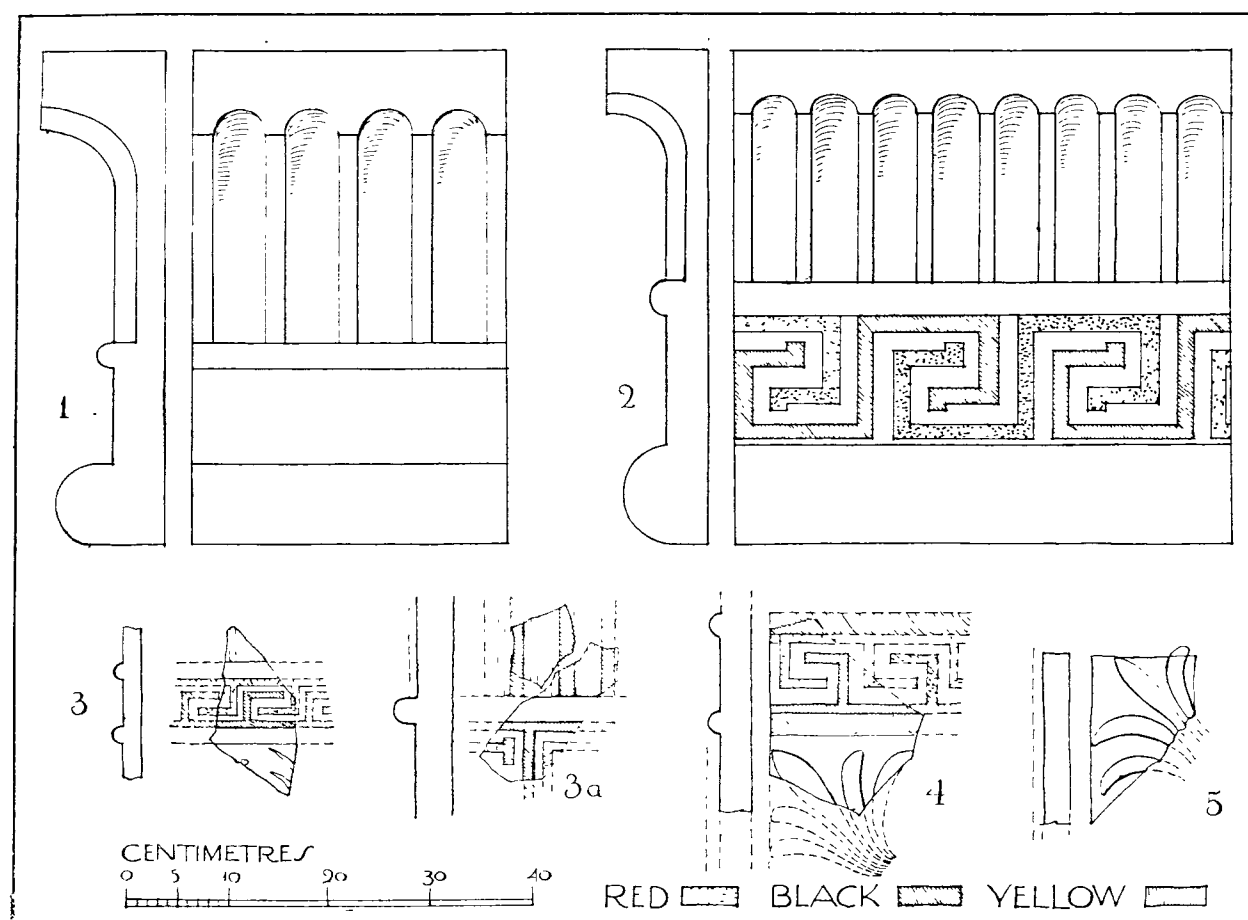


FIG. 23. MOULDED AND PAINTED CORNICE-SLABS, AT LEEDS.

slab, with remains of maeander pattern in red on flat fascia; fillet and tongue pattern above. H. .16; l. .17.

67 (Leeds, Inv. No. 9). Fragment, with part of one tongue only, on which is a red stripe. Back slightly convex, as on No. 52. H. .105; l. .115; gritty clay (perhaps from early series?).

68 (Leeds, Inv. No. 9). Similar fragment,

the large moulded fillet or torus at the lower edge of a similar cornice, with portion of the plain fascia above, and a portion *ca.* .055 wide, projecting inwards at right angles, to secure it to the roof of the building.<sup>1</sup> L. .45, broken in two; traces of red on face of fillet.

71 (Leeds, Inv. No. lacking). Similar fragment; l. .20.

<sup>1</sup> This member is shewn *in situ* in the restoration in the British Museum (*B.M.O.*: cf. *J.R.S.* iv. (1914), p. 168, Fig. 17), and in that of the Falerii temple, *Papers*, *B.S.R.*, *loc. cit.*

4. *Cornice-slabs* (from other parts of the entablature).

(a) *Hanging cornices*, from the sides of the building, and from the lower edge of the rake of the pediment.<sup>1</sup>

72 (Pl. XXVIIa. below. B.M. B 607). Numerous fragments reconstructed to form a 'curtain' or hanging cornice,<sup>2</sup> which consists of the following members: two zones of alternating lotus and inverted palmette motives in relief, separated by a narrow fillet, half-round in section; above is a half-round fillet with a moulded scale-pattern. The clay is uniformly gritty, and varies from pink or pale brick-red to buff or straw-colour, one or two pieces being a dirty grey. The surface is covered with a creamy slip, on which are plentiful traces of colour; the upper fillet has alternate scales red and picked out with black; in the upper zone the lobes of the palmettes are red, as are the calices and petals of the lotus flowers, and the rings uniting the pairs of tendrils from which the palmettes spring; the background of the rest of the upper zone is black (usually faded to a brownish-purple), but between the palmettes and the central fillet it is red. This fillet has a twisted pattern in red. In the lower zone the lobes of alternate palmettes seem to be painted red and black respectively, with a black background.

An attractive variety is introduced by the fact that the lotus plants in the lower zone spring alternately from the V-shaped junction of two narrow stalks and from a smaller inverted lotus blossom, and by the upper palmettes having nine lobes, the lower only six.

On the back of the lower part only is painted a somewhat similar design in red and black on a buff ground, without slip; the colours are well preserved on many of the fragments. Note also

the nail-holes, shewing the mode of attachment to the wooden beam-ends (*antepagmenta*); these are mostly in the upper zone, but not exclusively so; and this fact, together with the presence of the painting on the back of the lower part, proves that the latter to a large extent hung free.

H. .40; l. .64 m. In the *B.M. Catalogue, l.c.*, this cornice is described as having an upper member consisting of a fascia between two fillets, but the reconstruction has since been altered, and as now set up the cornice on the side of the building is placed immediately under the tiles. The previous scheme with its heavy projecting lower fillet can hardly have been right, but it is not clear that the present arrangement is correct, as the top of the scaled fillet of the cornice is flat, whereas the eave-tiles would have lain on a slope, meeting it at an acute angle. Yet if we are to accept the curtain as continued along the sides from the lower edge of the raking cornice of the pediment, the tiles apparently would have rested directly on it. I prefer to leave the point undecided.

73 (B.M. B 608). Part of a similar curtain, apparently from the front of the building, below the gable (?). H. .406; l. .724; colours not so well preserved.

74 (B.M. B 610 (1-6)). Six fragments from the upper zone of a similar cornice, shewing remains of fillet with scale-pattern, and lotus-flowers and palmettes. The largest (No. 2) measures .20 x .142, the smallest (No. 1) .088 x .076 (Nos. 1, 3, 4, 6 are of yellowish, the other two of pinkish, gritty clay).

75 (B.M. B 610 (7-11)). Five fragments from the lower zone of a similar cornice, ranging in size from .172 x .172 to .125 x .064.

76 (Fig. 24. Leeds, Inv. No. 12). Eleven fragments from the upper zone of a similar cornice,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. that from Falerii, *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1888, p. 431, where it is shewn as below the pediment; in *Papers, B.S.R.* viii. p. 32, this is shewn to be wrong, and it is transferred to the lower edge of the rake of the pediment; it seems, therefore, that our fragments must be likewise located; but Koch puts his example from Capua below the bed of the pediment, *op. cit.* p. 87 and Pl.

XXXII. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Apparently known as *γερσων κορίνθιον* in Greek architecture: cf. Wiegand, *Puteolanische Bauinschrift*, p. 757; at Athens, *I.G.* i. 167 (= *I.G.* ii.2, *Ed. Minor*, 463), l. 72. and Caskey, *A.J.A.* xiv. (1910), p. 308 f.

shewn as *a-k* on the sketch; of these (*d*) is from the upper fillet, with scale-pattern, in pinkish clay; (*e*) and (*j*) are from the left-hand margin of slabs, (*f*) from the right-hand; (*a*, *f*, *h*, *j*) have nail-holes in the line of fracture. For the dimensions see Fig. 24.

77 (Fig. 24. Leeds, Inv. No. 10). Eight fragments from the lower zone of a similar cornice, shewn as *l-s*, *ibid.*; (*l*) possibly belongs to a restoration, as it has a creamy slip and no traces

78 (B.M. B 612). Fragment from similar hanging cornice, but on a larger scale. Part of the lower zone, with design on a larger scale, and lower edge filled in with background. Part of palmette and tendrils in relief, picked out with red. Dimensions  $\cdot 203$   $\cdot 13$   $\cdot 01$ — $\cdot 03$ ; hole pierced for attachment, raised knob on lower edge.

79 (B.M. B 613). Similar fragment; on the front, palmette in relief, uncoloured, from the

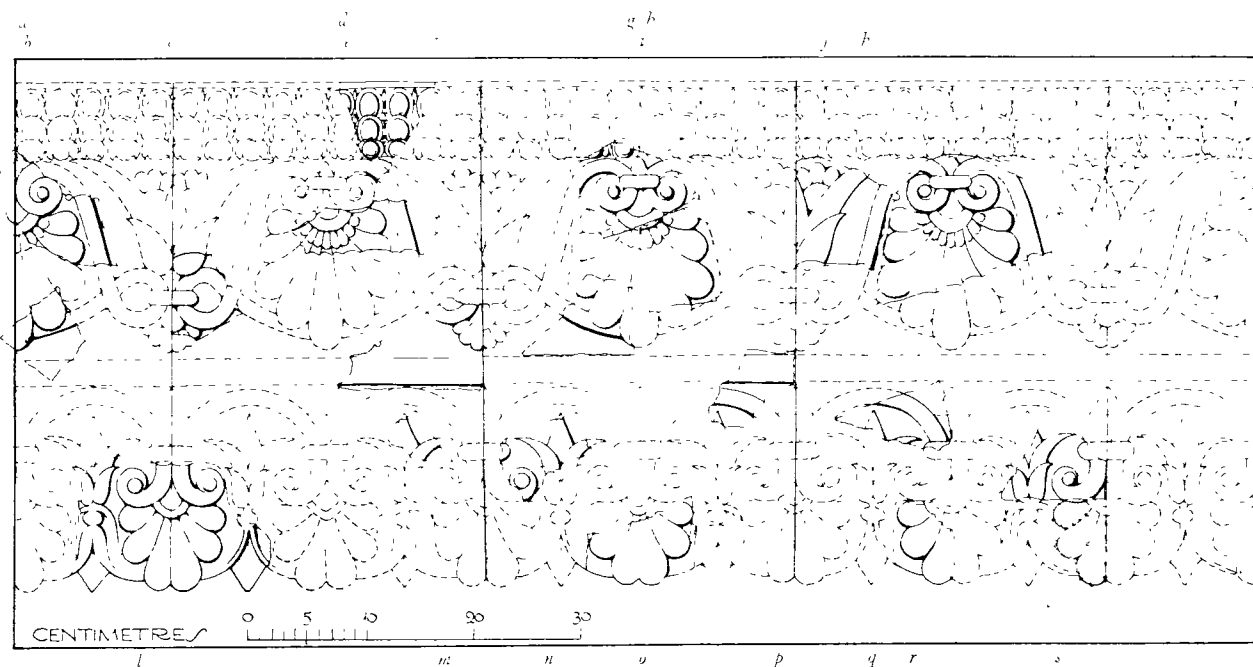


FIG. 24 (Nos. 76, 77). FRAGMENTS OF DECORATED HANGING CORNICE AT LEEDS (RECONSTRUCTED).

of paint except faint touches of red on the lozenges at the lower angles, and the back is unpainted; it has the gritty clay typical of this cornice, but the moulding is rather shallower (it is incorrectly shewn on the drawing as forming a junction of two slabs)<sup>1</sup>; *p* and *s* are from the right-hand edges of slabs; the former is of pinkish clay, the rest mostly of an even creamy tint, and *p* has also traces of a twisted pattern in black on the fillet. The scanty remains of the painted pattern on the back (of all except *l*) do not seem worth reproducing.

lower edge of the cornice (no background round edge); at the back, part of a painted palmette on a double volute, buff with black outlines on brown background, with details in purple. H.  $\cdot 08$ ; l.  $\cdot 108$ ; th.  $\cdot 018$  (without relief).

80 (B.M. B 610 (12)). Fragment from similar hanging cornice, complete above and on l.; remains of open lotus blossom and two divergent tendrils; a triple bud between them. Nail-hole below. H.  $\cdot 068$ ; l.  $\cdot 125$ ; th.  $\cdot 028$ ; yellowish gritty clay. The difference both in thickness and design

<sup>1</sup> The drawing is only intended to shew the relative positions of the fragments, compressed to a *minimum* length, and the

division into slabs aims only at shewing which pieces are from slab-edges.

proves that this does not belong to the 'curtain' (Nos. 72-77).<sup>1</sup>

81 (Leeds, Inv. No. 13). Fragment from upper zone of similar cornice, with part of lotus-blossom and tendril framing a palmette, with loop below. Creamy slip, but no other colour. H. .135; br. .075; th. *ca.* .032; nail-hole for attachment at lower l. angle; gritty clay, of pinkish tinge. Though the design seems similar to that of Nos. 72-77 the greater thickness suggests that it belongs to a different 'curtain,' possibly from the *trabs compactilis* over the columns of the façade, as in *Papers, B.S.R.* viii. p. 28 f., and Pl. II.

4 (b). *Miscellaneous Early Cornice-fragments.*

82 (Leeds, Inv. No. 13). Small fragment, broken on all sides, from the upper moulding of a cornice, in the form of a Lesbian *kymation*, on which are lotus-blossoms alternating with lozenges containing diamonds, in relief. Half-round fillet, and plain band below. Thick, creamy slip, with traces of bright red in background. H. .125; l. .125; th. (of plain fascia) .03; coarse yellowish clay, full of gritty particles, and discoloured by burning. This seems more archaic than the hanging cornice fragments (Nos. 72-81) and is perhaps the earliest relic of the architectural decoration of the temple. No similar fragment from the site exists in the British Museum, but we may compare, for the *kymation* ornament, a piece from Capua, Koch (*op. cit.*), p. 86, Fig. 104, which is, however, little earlier—and perhaps later—than 400 B.C. (this is a Sima-panel ('Sima-aufsatz')); and that from Falerii, *Papers, B.S.R.*, *l.c.* Fig. 13, which is still later.

83 (Fig. 28, 3. Leeds, Inv. No. 13). Small fragment, broken on all sides, from hanging panel or cornice, with lotus flowers and curved bands in shallow relief. Traces of red on the dart-shaped heart of the flower, and of intense black on the background. The upper surface of the

portion in relief is itself slightly concave, which is an exceptional feature among the fragments from the site. H. .115; br. .102; th. (of background) .018; brownish clay with much fine black grit; traces of thin creamy slip; nail-hole on l.

84 (B.M. B 610 (15)). Fragment of cornice, consisting of a fascia between two fillets, with remains of band of maeander below, purple on a white ground. Much injured. H. .117; possibly from a *kymation*-moulding, as Nos. 52 ff.

85 (B.M. B 610 (16)). Fragment of slab, with patterns of maeander and squares in red and black; the line of the maeander is red, the squares half red and half black, divided diagonally. Dimensions .153 .133; perhaps akin to the above, and Nos. 52 ff.

4 (c). *Hanging cornices and panels, of later style.*

(86-95 have *kymation*-mouldings above.)

86 (Fig. 25. B.M. D 711). Square panel from hanging cornice of building, probably of about 300 B.C.<sup>2</sup> On the panel is a pattern of two

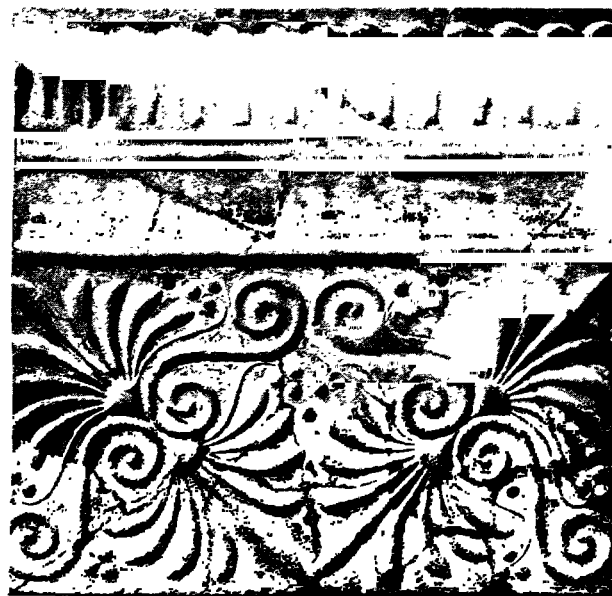


FIG. 25 (No. 86). PANEL OF HANGING CORNICE.  
(Scale 1:8.)

<sup>1</sup> It is erroneously included among the fragments belonging to it in *B.M. Cat.*; the average thickness of the pieces from the 'curtain' is only .02; it seems not thick enough to combine with No. 81.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. a similar panel from Falerii, and restoration in *Nutze degli Scavi*, 1888, p. 431, and Borrmann, *Handbuch der Architektur*, i. pt. 4 (*Keramik u. Baukunst*), p. 42; *Papers, B.S.R.*, *l.c.* No. 4, and Pl. II.

double palmettes of nine lobes, with volutes and sprays of three berries, sloping towards the upper corners; above is a fascia between two fillets, on which is a maeander pattern in red and black. This is surmounted by a moulded tongue-pattern, curving outwards at the top (as Nos. 52 ff. but on a smaller scale), the alternate tongues being coloured red. Two nail-holes for attachment in upper member, four in panel, which prove that this was attached to the wooden *antepagmenta* below the eaves. Dimensions .636 .636 (25 . 25 ins.); restored; traces of red colouring throughout.

87 (Fig. 23, 4. Leeds, Inv. No. 12). Fragment, complete on l. only, of similar panel, preserving the tops of three lobes of the upper palmette on l., and the fascia between the two fillets. Colours fairly well preserved, viz. black (faded to purple-brown) on upper fillet; red and black maeander, and red on lower fillet, all on thin white slip. H. .19; l. .145; th. (of background) ca. .032.

88 (Leeds, Inv. No. 8). Small fragment of similar panel, with three lobes of upper l. palmette, and portion of stalk of berry-spray and volute. Faint traces of black in background of palmette and of red inside the volute. H. .092; l. .105; th. .032; complete on l. only; buff clay, slightly micaceous, but free from grit. [This is almost certainly from the same slab as No. 87; the thickness and texture of the clay are identical; about 2 cmm. are missing between them.]

89 (Fig. 23, 5. Leeds, Inv. No. 8). Small fragment of similar panel from upper l. corner, with four lobes of palmette; broken below fillet, complete only on l. Dimensions .165 . 105, th. .025; no remains of colour.

90 (B.M. D 716). Part of cornice with overhanging moulding above, below which is a band of alternate pointed leaves and *phialai mesomphali*. Below remain the upper parts of two heads of Medusa with serpentine locks parted and twisted up on the top; between them is a pattern of leaves, volutes and spiky flowers. The hair of Medusa is coloured red, as is the ground of the panel; there are five holes for attachment. H. .19; l. .40.

91 (B.M. D 719). Part of cornice; above, *kymation*-moulding, fluted; below, palmette in countersunk relief within a flat ring; on the r., part of a floral pattern in high relief and a hole for attachment. Remains of white slip above. H. .26.

92 (B.M. D 722). Fragment of cornice; above, *kymation*-moulding (fragmentary), with purple and black vertical stripes on a cream slip; then a band of maeander, also on a cream slip, between fillets on which are diagonal red bands. The maeander is coloured purple above and black below; below it is a palmette between lotus flowers in low relief, on a black background, the flowers picked out with purple. H. .21; l. .53.

93 (Leeds, Inv. Nos. 10 and 13). Two adjoining fragments, complete on l. only; above, *kymation*-moulding (fragmentary), with rough tongue-moulding: the tongues, alternately ca. .024 and .036 wide, are separated by narrow irregular flutings; below is a half-round fillet, and then a panel with remains of ornament in low relief; a portion of a curved band alone survives. Nail-hole for attachment below fillet. H. .18; l. .13; min. th. .028; brownish clay, finely levigated, with small fragments of pounded terracotta in it. Remains of thick white slip, like pipe-clay, on tongue pattern, but no other colour.

94 (Fig. 23, 3. Leeds, Inv. No. 12). Small fragment from similar cornice; above, traces of tongue-pattern of *kymation*; below is a narrow flat band between two half-round fillets, on which is a maeander in black and red; then a panel with remains of an uncertain floral design with thin spiky leaves. H. .16; br. .07; min. th. .022; broken on all sides. Brownish-red clay with chalky white slip, maeander-colours well preserved. Unusually small scale, ca. half that of No. 86.

95 (Leeds, Inv. No. 12). Small, much-damaged fragment of tongue-pattern from *kymation* of similar cornice. The tongues are .021 wide, with remains of red colour on chalky white slip, and there are traces of red on the small portion of the panel below the fillet. H. .095;



l. .106; th. .019; yellowish clay, somewhat gritty, but not apparently belonging to early period.

+ (d). *Other hanging cornice fragments, and panels.*

96 (B.M. D 713). Hanging panel of open-work. Above is a pattern of palmettes supported on double volutes, which rest on the top of three arches, between which are projecting brackets, fluted underneath; the brackets have conical tops with patterns in relief; the arches end below in volutes. H. .278; l. .33.

97 (B.M. D 714). Panel, as the last; .278 × .321.

98 (Fig. 29, 2. Leeds, Inv. No. 13). (a) Fragment of similar open-work panel (restored in sketch from two overlapping fragments), with five-lobed palmette supported between two converging tendrils, with plain band below; small roughly-tooled conical projection above. The upper portion has a convex curve; the back is flat. H. .18; similar clay to the last; (b) smaller fragment from the same panel, partly overlapping (a).

99 (Leeds, Inv. No. 13). Small fragment from similar panel, with remains of two tendrils tied with a raised ring, terminating below in volutes. H. .04; similar clay to the last.

100 (Fig. 29, 6. Leeds, Inv. No. 8). Small fragment from similar panel, with remains of two horizontal fillets resting on double volute. Back flat; traces of red in background. H. .076; th. .02; similar clay to the last.

101 (Leeds, Inv. No. 2). Small fragment of pointed projection, perhaps from a similar panel. H. .05; similar clay to the last.

102 (B.M. D 715). Hanging cornice, with designs in low relief, consisting of three oval medallions. In the centre is a mask of a Maenad, with hair parted and waved, and circular earrings; at each side a mask of a bearded Satyr with curly hair. Between the medallions are palmettes resting on double volutes, from which spring a row of inverted palmettes, the edges of

which form a scalloped lower border to the panel. In the spaces between the medallions and the palmettes are Gorgoneia (?) above, and small palmettes below. H. .381; l. .731; repaired and restored; design indistinct. Nail-holes for attachment, and traces of red colour. Buff clay with small particles of grit; but not of early date.<sup>1</sup>

103 (Leeds, Inv. No. 13). Small fragment of palmette in low relief, complete below. Probably from the lower edge of a cornice similar to the last, as both style and clay are exactly similar. Traces of creamy slip. H. .10; th. .02.

104 (B.M. D 717). Part of hanging cornice, which seems a poor adaptation of Nos. 73 ff. Above, guilloche pattern between two fillets; below, a pattern in low relief of palmettes and lotus



FIG. 26 (No. 105). PANEL OF HANGING CORNICE.  
(Scale 1 : 4.)

flowers alternating, in two rows, the lower row of each inverted; the bases are connected by double volutes. Remains of red on background; pierced with a hole for attachment. H. .375.

105 (Fig. 26. B.M. D 718). Part of hanging cornice with pattern of inverted palmettes, between which are lotus buds; the alternate palmettes spring from the calices of lotus flowers. Below are pairs of double volutes, horizontally placed, forming heart-shaped patterns, with small hearts and diamonds in the interstices; the ground of the pattern is red. On the lotus buds and calices are remains of purple. H. .155; l. .305, th. ca. .02.

<sup>1</sup> For antefixes of similar style from Falerii, cf. *Papers, B.S.R., l.c.* p. 31, and note 3.

106 (Fig. 27, 1. Leeds, Inv. No. 13). Fragment of panel or hanging cornice, complete on l. only, with design of double volutes in low relief, from which spring sprays (of honeysuckle?); beneath are *phiaii mesomphali* and floral sprays of a different type, with a bud (of a poppy?) alone preserved. A projecting lump in high relief at the upper l. corner. H. .175; l. .11; th. .025; pale reddish-buff clay, with both grit and pounded terracotta in its composition; traces of creamy slip.

107 (B.M. D 720). Fragment of similar design, broken on all sides. H. .127; l. .172; th. .025.

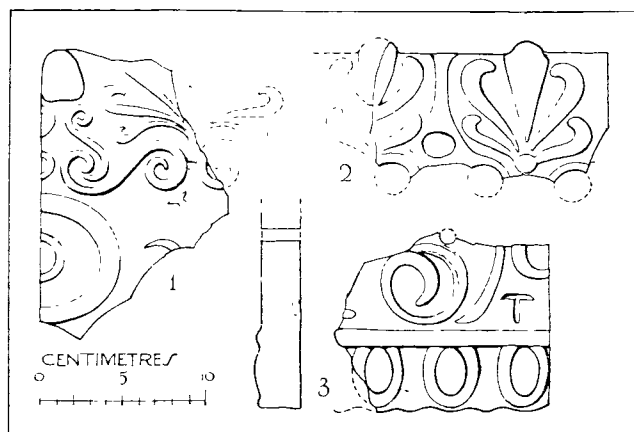


FIG. 27.

and of white slip; a hole is pierced through, and there is another in the line of breakage above. Dimensions .14 . 14 × .025. Pink, gritty clay (possibly early?).

111 (Fig. 27, 2. Leeds, Inv. No. 12). Fragment, complete above and on r., of panel with alternate palmettes and lotus flowers (?). Needlessly large and numerous holes for attachment suggest that this should rather be regarded as an open-work panel. There are also small holes sunk in the upper edge, in the central lobe of each of the palmettes. No traces of colour. H. .08; l. .135 (originally *ca.* .270); th. .023; creamy clay, free from grit.

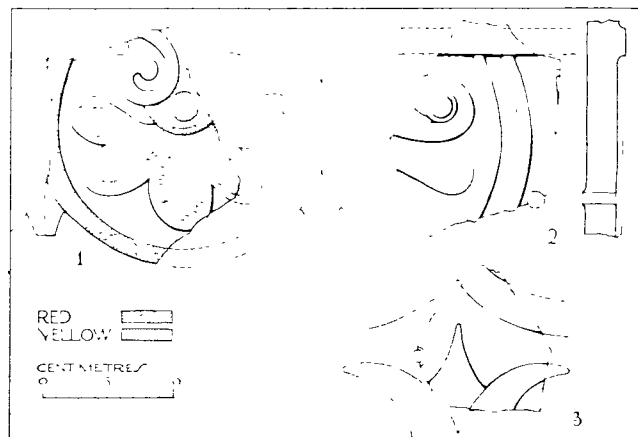


FIG. 28.

## FRAGMENTS OF HANGING CORNICES AND PANELS.

108 (B.M. D 721). Similar fragment, with part of palmette and volute in low relief, surrounded by a double ring with groove between; on the r. of this is a hole for suspension and part of a panel in low relief. Dimensions .219 × .134.

109 (B.M. D 723). Similar fragment, with lotus flower and palmettes in low relief (fourth century or later type); on the palmettes are traces of black. Dimensions .127 × .114 × .021; pinkish clay with buff slip; a nail-hole is pierced through the middle.

110 (B.M. D 724). Fragment similar to the last, broken on all sides; above, palmette in low relief, with tendril terminating in a straight stem with double volute and three fruit; below, traces of lotus flowers in relief. Remains of red colour

112 (Leeds, Inv. No. 13). Small fragment of similar panel; complete above only, with centre palmette alone. Two large holes pierced, in line of lower fracture, and small hole, as in last, in upper edge. No traces of colour, but creamy slip. H. .07; l. .06; th. .023; pinkish clay, with grains of pounded terracotta.

113 (Fig. 27, 3. Leeds, Inv. No. 13). Fragment, complete on r. and below, of panel from hanging cornice. Above is a slender spiral, in low relief, and two thin leaves of some uncertain floral pattern; in the lower r. corner of the background the letter T, countersunk; below this is a narrow fillet, from which hang widely spaced *σνα*; the lower edge of the panel has a wavy outline. Faint traces of red on *σνα*; nail-hole

for attachment in upper line of fracture. H. .106; l. .126; th. (*min.*) .024; yellowish-buff clay, finely levigated.

114 (Leeds, Inv. No. 13). Small fragment from panel, broken on all sides, with remains of two curved raised bands in low relief, meeting V-fashion. Dimensions: .09  $\times$  .056  $\times$  .026; brownish clay with buff slip.

115 (Leeds, Inv. No. 13). Small fragment, broken on all sides, of similar style, with remains of fillet above and of raised bands. Dimensions: .105  $\times$  .065  $\times$  .022; pink clay with fragments of pounded terracotta; straw-coloured slip, surface damaged.

4 (e). *Miscellaneous Cornices and Panels.*

116 (B.M. D 712). Open-work panel, from the upper part of a *kymation*-cornice.<sup>1</sup> Below is a row of arches; above, a pattern of intertwining double scrolls supporting small palmettes. Remains of red colouring. H. .35; l. .406; restored. (Cf. Bendinelli, *op. cit.*, Fig. 12).

117 (B.M. D 728). Part of panel, in high relief, with Amazon fallen to r., wrapped in a garment reaching to the thighs; on her back is visible the foot of her victorious adversary; beneath is seen part of her shield, which has a broad rim. The whole is coloured red, except the rim of the shield, which is white; below is a plinth. H. .152; much injured, head of Amazon obliterated.

118 (B.M. D 755). Part of mural relief (?), with Amazon fallen to l., in low relief, struggling with an adversary, whose l. hand grasps her hair, with her l. hand she seizes his l. wrist, endeavouring to free herself, and her r. hand is extended towards him. She has wild disordered hair, and a chlamys floats from her shoulders; her adversary holds a shield with fluted edge, his wrist passing through a strap. Traces of dark red on background; upper part of Amazon only remaining. H. .141; back of panel flat.

119 (B.M. D 744). Part of panel; heads of

two horses to r., and part of man at their head, with short girt chiton and sword at side; only the torso of the figure remains. H. .108; back flat.

120 (B.M. D 745). Part of similar panel; torso of woman, richly draped in long chiton and himation, holding up the edge of the latter with l. hand. The drapery is treated in the manner of the red-figure vases of the 'strong' period. H. .081; back flat.

121 (Fig. 28, 1. Leeds, Inv. No. 8). Part of panel, complete below and on l., with large five-lobed palmette in high relief enclosed in a horse-shoe-shaped flat moulding, with 'ears' projecting at lower angles; the palmette springs from a curved base below two volutes. Thick creamy slip, with plentiful traces of colour overlaid; the frame and the outer edges of the lobes of the palmettes are pink; the base of the palmettes and the centres of alternate lobes bright yellow; the background apparently uncoloured. Nail-hole for attachment in line of fracture above. H. .18; l. .15; back flat; buff clay, with fragments of pounded terracotta.

122 (Leeds, Inv. No. 8). Three fragments (*a, b, c*) from two other similar panels; *a* is broken through, and comes from the left side, with remains of transverse band (on which restoration of No. 121 is based); *b* and *c* from the bottom and r. of two slabs (it is impossible to combine both with *a*). Dimensions: *a* .19  $\times$  .10; *b* .10  $\times$  .08; *c* .07  $\times$  .09; rather deeper red-brown clay than No. 121, and no trace of painting. The nail-hole in No. 121 seems to prove that these were panels and not antefixes; moreover, the backs are flat. Apparently from a fringe similar to that of Falerii, *Papers, B.S.R., l.c.* and Fig. 13, but below the pediment.

123 (Fig. 28, 2. Leeds, Inv. No. 8). Fragment of panel in similar style, but flatter relief. Remains of one lobe and volute of a palmette, which was enclosed in a double bead-moulding, with a band of low flat-topped relief above. Broken on all sides; nail-hole for attachment, on

<sup>1</sup> Probably from a building similar to that at Falerii; cf. *Notizie, loc. cit.*, for position; and *Papers, B.S.R., l.c.* and Pl. II.

l. H. .165; br. .115; th. .023; brownish clay, like the last, with remains of buff slip, but no other colour. (No. 114 is very like this in style, but slightly thicker, and cannot be combined convincingly with it.)

124 (Leeds, Inv. No. 12). Small fragment of panel, with part of palmette, in high relief, without frame; poor work. H. .085, th. .02; complete above. Dark red clay, with grit; traces

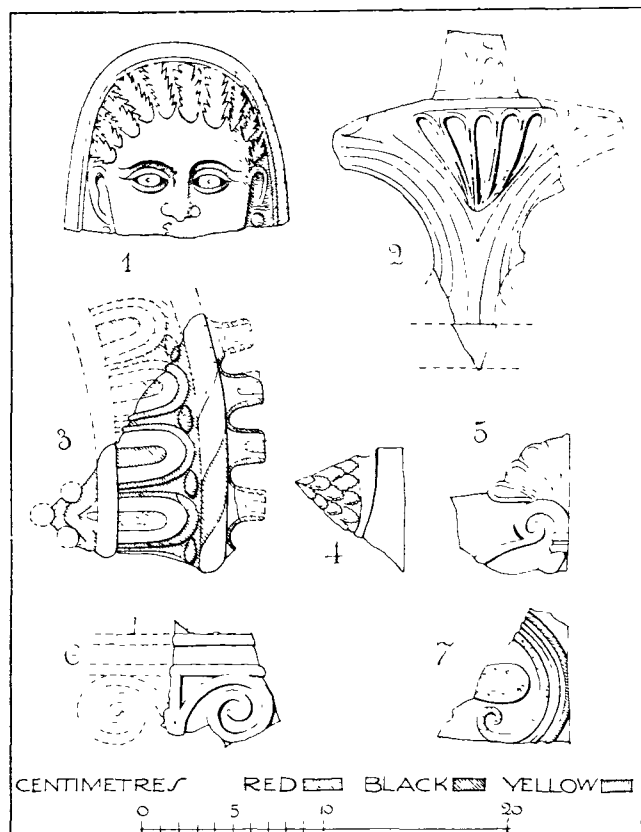


FIG. 29. VARIOUS FRAGMENTS OF ANTEFIXES AND PANELS.

of white paint round lobes, and of red near base of palmette.

125 (Leeds, Inv. No. 12). Fragment of panel complete above (?) only. Half-round fillet, on which are traces of red paint, and a small portion of a palmette, in high relief. H. .075; l. .085; th. .025; pink clay, with grit; remains of white slip on field.

126 (Fig. 29, 5. Leeds, Inv. No. 13). (a)

Fragment, complete above and on r., from the corner of a panel, in high relief; a similar panel is to be restored on the r. (unless this formed the angle of the building). Above is half a palmette; below, a tendril ending in a volute bound with a ring close to the spiral; from the spiral runs another tendril. H. .084, th. of background .025; reddish-brown clay; no applied colour. (b) (Leeds, Inv. No. 8). Smaller fragment, incomplete above, from a duplicate of this panel; traces of palmette and volute only.

127 (Leeds, Inv. No. 13). Small fragment, broken on all sides, with remains of two tendrils tied with a ring and ending in volutes; Dimensions: .04 × .048 × .025. Possibly from centre of a panel similar to the two last,<sup>1</sup> as the clay and thickness correspond.

128 (Fig. 8, 7. Leeds, Inv. No. 8). Small fragment, broken on all sides; one lobe of a palmette surrounded by a triple tendril, all in low relief. Dimensions: .082 × .07 × .024; brownish-buff clay; thick white slip; red on palmette-lobe and on inner tendril; black on outer tendril. Poor work.

129 (Leeds, Inv. No. 13). Small fragment, complete above and on l., from the upper cornice of a panel (or mural relief?). The cornice takes the form of a row of *ovata* in high relief, with a flat moulding above. Dimensions: .054 × .067; fine clay of brownish-buff tint, no slip or paint.

130 (B.M. D 743). Part of panel with relief of Victory sacrificing a bull; she kneels to r.; her hair falls in curls on her shoulders, and drapery is visible behind her arm, and falling over l. shoulder; her wings are large, and the feathers carefully indicated. Head, l. arm, r. hand, and all below waist of Victory wanting. H. .146; back flat.

131 (Fig. 30, 6. Leeds, Inv. No. 16). Fragment of similar (perhaps the same?) relief. Nothing is preserved of the figure of Victory, and of the bull only the dewlap, chest, and fore-legs.<sup>2</sup> In

<sup>1</sup> Its small size leaves exact restoration doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> The position of the bull's fore-legs seems identical with that

on the similar relief (not from Lanuvium) B.M. D 569, Pl. XLIV (2), but the altar-like pedestal is there replaced by a candelabrum.

front of the bull is a pedestal in the form of an altar, resting on three legs which are moulded in the form of dolphins (?), with horns projecting from the top. On a plinth on this pedestal stands a figure of Artemis *πότνια θηρῶν*, wearing a high calathos and a long himation (details much rubbed and obscure); she holds in each hand the fore-paws of a deer rampant. H. .194; l. .115; th. of background .023; back flat; fine brownish-buff clay.

132 (B.M. D 576). Similar relief, with Victory to l.; her hair is knotted at the back, and the dagger is not by her side but held up in her r. hand, about to be plunged into the bull's throat. There is no pedestal (*vel sim.*) in front of the bull. A frieze of inverted palmettes below, but none above; three holes for attachment. H. .28; l. .381; top and lower r. corner wanting; in bad condition, the surface much scraped. Good style.

#### 5. Water-spouts, etc.

133 (B.M. D 773). Muzzle of lion from spout of a *simā*. Eyes and nostrils very deeply cut; whiskers, eyebrows and hair above nose indicated; one large eye-tooth projects from the upper jaw. Top and back of head broken. H. .147.

134 (B.M. D 774). Fragment from similar spout, consisting of nose and upper jaw, with whiskers; two teeth project. L. .092.

135 (Fig. 30. Leeds, Inv. No. lacking). Fragment of spout in form of lion's (?) head; part of the forehead, cheek and one eye alone preserved. Broken on all sides, but traces of the curved spout visible at back. Reddish clay, of later type. L. .13.

136 (B.M. D 775). Tile of elongated triangular shape, with raised edges; the base is broken away. From the background of a pediment (?).<sup>1</sup> Broken in two. L. 1.52 m. (= 5 ft.).

137 (B.M. E 144). Part of tile, stamped

<sup>1</sup> This is presumably the meaning of the phrase employed in the *Catalogue*, 'employed for filling in the side of a sloping roof.'

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *C.I.L.* xv. 1, 1462a, which reads *C. Sulpici Felici*[s] in semicircle.

<sup>3</sup> A full account of these objects has recently been published

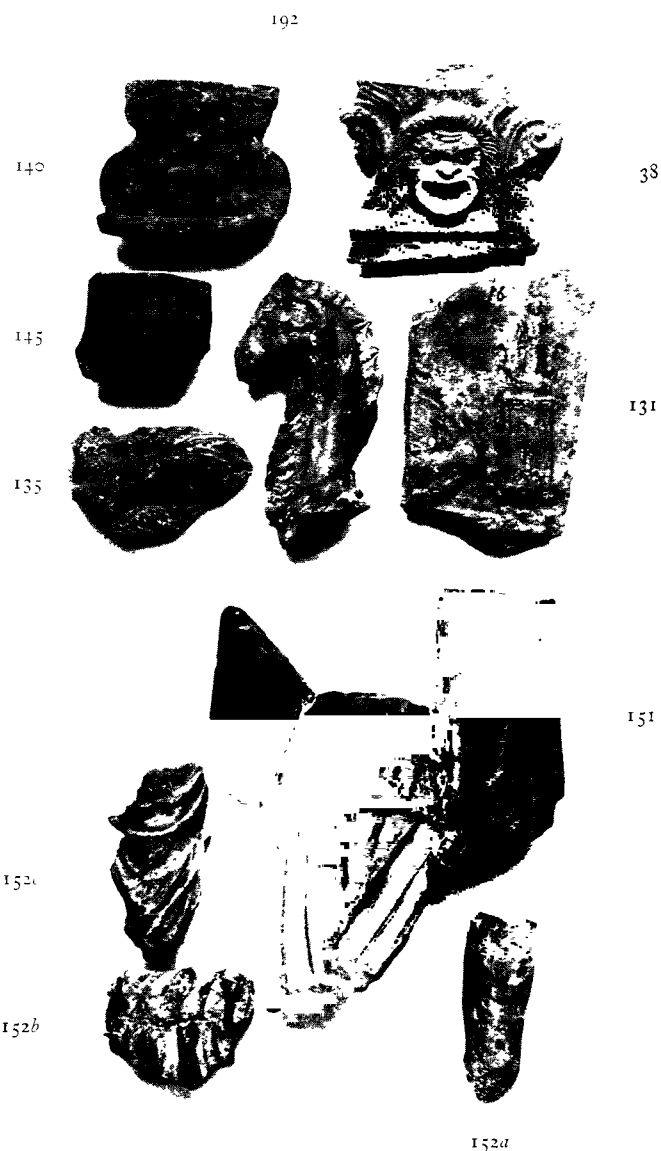


FIG. 30. TERRACOTTA FRAGMENTS: ABOVE, FROM ARULA, BRAZIER, SPOUT, ETC.; BELOW, FROM SCULPTURES IN THE ROUND. (Scale 1:5.)

within a semicircle *C SVPICI FELIC* [*C. Sulpici Felic(is)*];<sup>2</sup> in the centre, a quadrangular object. .158 × .105 × .35.

#### (B). OTHER TERRACOTTA OBJECTS (138-200).

##### 1. Models of Altars (?).

138 (B.M. B 616, Fig. 42 *ad loc.*). Model of altar, or pedestal (?).<sup>3</sup> It is flat at the top, and on

by Mrs. E. D. Van Buren: see her *Terracotta Arulae* in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, vii. (1928), pp. 15 ff., in which the various types and motives are analysed. Nos. 138 and 139 correspond to p. 27, No. 3 in her list.

two opposite sides, and larger at the base; in section it is square, with the two other sides moulded with a double convex curve, the lower moulding larger and more spreading than the upper; it rests on a low plinth and is hollow underneath. On the front is a relief of a Satyr of Ionic type, in the archaic running manner to l., with l. knee bent on the ground; he is bearded, with horse's tail and hoofs and long hair tied in a queue; he looks upwards and holds an *amphora* with pointed base in r. hand. Clay of early, gritty type. H. .102.

139 (B.M. B 617). Part of similar object, with similar relief. Back broken away; redder clay than the last. H. .098.

140 (Fig. 30. Leeds, Inv. No. 48). Part of similar object; back broken away; reddish gritty clay. H. .10; br. .12.

141 (B.M. D 771, Fig. 80 *ad loc.* E. D. Van Buren, *op. cit.* p. 38, No. 1 in group iii, and pl. 21). Similar object, rather larger. On one side are two men in low relief, seated on rocks back to back, with legs crossed; each supports with one hand the elbow of the other arm, and with his extended inner hand draws forward a piece of drapery which appears to be twisted round his head. They are bearded and wear helmets (?), cuirasses with a row of flaps below the waist, and short chitons covering the knees; drapery is visible on the outer shoulder of each, and beneath them. The object is moulded hollow underneath. One corner of top is broken off. The mould is indistinct and the subject obscure;<sup>1</sup> the figures are merely duplicates of a single theme. H. .15; l. (below) .165; (above) .142; br. .125 and .13; coarse yellowish clay with black particles.

142 (B.M. D 772 = E. D. Van Buren, *op. cit.* p. 33, No. 2 in group vi). Similar object, with moulded cornice. On the front is a relief of Eros on a panther moving rapidly to l., his r. hand placed on its neck and l. hand extended;

a chlamys floats behind him. Lower part broken away, hollow. H. .098.

143 (Leeds, Inv. No. 49). Fragment of r. end only of similar object. Faint traces of the relief alone remain, suggesting volutes; apparently not the same design as either No. 141 or 142. Coarse reddish clay. H. .148; th. .084.

## 2. Ornamental Handles, etc. from Braziers.<sup>2</sup>

144 (B.M. D 776). Handle-projection from rim of a brazier (*πύραυλος*) with head of ox in relief, with erect horns and band over forehead;



FIG. 31. TERRACOTTA HEADS AND VOTIVE EYES, EAR AND FEET. (Scale 1 : 5.)

panel only indicated at side of horns. Back flat, with moulding below. Dark red clay, rough work. H. .13.

145 (Fig. 30. Leeds, Inv. No. 28). Similar object, with reliefs on both back and front. On the inner side, in a square panel, head of a panther; on the outer side roughly modelled head of an ox with straight horns. Poor, superficial work; the details of the panther's head are

<sup>1</sup> In *B.M. Cat.*, *ad loc.*, it is suggested that this may be 'Agamemnon *capite obveluto* or some other mythological subject.'

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *B.M. Cat.* Introd. p. xix. and the full discussion of

numerous types by Conze, *Jahrb. des Deutsch. Arch. Instituts*, v. (1890), pp. 118 ff.; and *ibid.*, *Anzeiger* (same date), p. 166 f. for further examples.

roughly treated and the ox has neither eyes nor ears. This corresponds to Conze's type VI. D, but the subjects are reversed, as usually the ox-head is on the inside.<sup>1</sup> The nearest parallel, as regards style, seems to be the example from Carthage.<sup>2</sup>

146 (Fig. 31. Leeds, Inv. No. 29). Head of Satyr, which apparently served as ornament on the outside of a brazier.<sup>3</sup> He has deep-sunk eyes, bestial ears, and a wide-open mouth, not pierced, with the tongue shewn. A raised fillet runs round his forehead, and there is a bunch of grapes under his l. ear. The back is concave, and shews traces of being turned on the wheel. Red clay. Broken on all sides. H. .115.

### 3. *Miscellaneous Reliefs.*

147 (Leeds, Inv. No. 16). Small fragment of relief, broken on all sides. Female head, in high relief, to l.; hair drawn together into knot at back. Superficial work, of fourth-century type. Reddish clay, with fragments of pounded terracotta; remains of chalky white slip. H. .066; br. .063; th. of background .022.

148 (B.M. D 767). Head of Silenus, apparently from a panel in high relief. Features flat, and coloured red, except the beard, which is black. Somewhat worn; back flat. H. .067.

149 (B.M. D 769). Part of slab with boar or lion with curly mane, rushing to r., in low relief; the background is coloured red. H. .122.

### 4. *Standing and Seated Figures of Various Types.*

150 (B.M. D 758). Draped man (?), wearing long chiton and himation twisted round lower limbs; the folds of drapery are indicated by shallow incisions. Head, arms and legs from knees wanting; fine reddish-brown clay; traces of red colour. Back not worked, with hole high up; hollow. H. .241.

151 (Fig. 30. Leeds, Inv. No. lacking). Three conjoined fragments from lower part of a

draped standing female figure, wearing chiton and himation, which are rendered in stiff vertical folds. Fair work, perhaps of early fifth century. Brownish-buff gritty clay, with no traces of colour. All above waist and below knees is lacking, and a large piece from the back. Hollow. H. .26; minimum th. .015.

152 (Fig. 30. Leeds, Inv. No. lacking). Three fragments, which do not join, from a draped female figure, of later style: (a) left arm from shoulder to elbow, undraped; broken through and mended; (b) part of shoulder and upper arm of the same figure, with portion of drapery rendered in deep, well-modelled folds; (c) fragment of drapery, apparently from r. knee; hollow. Finely levigated pink clay, well modelled and firmly baked. No colour applied, except a narrow dark red armlet on (a). Length: (a) .133 (along outer surface over elbow); (b) .098; (c) .125.

153 (B.M. D 757). Fragment of figure of Artemis as *πόρνια θηρῶν*, consisting of the breast and upper part of the arms, and a long curl falling over each shoulder. Rough work. H. .07.

154 (Leeds, Inv. Nos. 30-33). Four examples, of which one (Inv. No. 32) lacks the head, of a draped standing female figure, holding drapery in r. hand and uncertain object (possibly a cake?) in l.; the r. arm is bare, the l. bent; the r. knee advanced. Poor modelling; solid, with small hole in base, which is flat in front and rounded at back; the back of the figure is not worked. Dark red clay, like that of the brazier-fragments (Nos. 145, 146 above). H. .164.

155 (Leeds, Inv. No. 35). Standing female figure, lacking the head; wears long chiton which falls over the feet in ample folds, and himation. The r. arm hangs down, slightly bent; the l. hand holds drapery at waist. Poor sketchy work, perhaps of third century B.C. Buff clay, badly fired; hollow, with oval hole at back; below the hole is the inscription ΔΑ in raised letters. (cf. Fig. 36, 5). H. .151.

156 (Leeds, Inv. No. 36). Standing female

<sup>1</sup> Conze, *op. cit.* p. 131.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. II., 2. Here, however, the modelling is much

better.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 134 (lower figure).

figure, lacking the head; nude from waist upwards, below which is a broad girdle apparently held in both hands. From this hangs drapery, sketchily worked; one knee is advanced. Solid; coarse red clay, as No. 154. H. .132.

157 (Leeds, Inv. No. 37). Figure of similar style, with legs missing from above the knees. She holds drapery which falls in heavy folds from the waist. The body is curved, after the Praxitelean style. Poor work, from a worn mould, the features and coiffure being obliterated. Solid; similar clay to the last. H. .131.

158 (Leeds, Inv. No. 34). Figure of similar style, but all below waist is lacking. Drapery rests on l. shoulder and covers l. arm only. Similar clay and style. H. .08.

159 (Leeds, Inv. No. 39). Figure of similar style, lacking head and feet. She is undraped, but a light cloak hanging from l. shoulder is gathered up in curve of l. arm; the r. hand is apparently empty. Depressingly bad modelling; solid; similar clay to the last. H. .12.

160 (Leeds, Inv. No. 38). Lower part of draped figure on rather larger scale than the above; she wears long chiton and himation. The modelling of the drapery is less crude, and its folds have been touched up with a tool. The r. knee is bent, the position of the hands uncertain. Hollow, with oblong hole at back and no base. Similar clay. H. .132.

161 (Leeds, Inv. No. 44). Lower part of seated figure wearing long chiton; the l. hand rests on the lap, the r. clasps an ornament on the breast. Hollow, not worked at back; near the bottom of the back is incised the inscription *Maus* (?)<sup>1</sup> (cf. Fig. 36, 6). Crude work; light pinkish-buff clay. H. .075.

162 (Leeds, Inv. No. 46). Remains of female figure (Nike?) advancing to left. She wears long chiton with *apoptygma* and small Gorgoneion on the breast, and holds a palm-branch vertically

in r. hand; r. knee bent. Head, l. arm, and feet lacking. Fine buff clay, of curiously thin fabric, with traces of white slip. Broken at back. H. .098. [Possibly from a lamp of abnormal shape?]

163 (Leeds, Inv. No. 42). Remains of very crude seated female figure, lacking head and legs. Drapery in heavy parallel folds is indicated on the l. shoulder, and held at the waist in r. hand. Back not worked; solid, but small hole beneath. Coarse reddish clay, as Nos. 150, 152, etc. H. .067.

164 (Leeds, Inv. No. 41). Eros (?) riding on swan (or goose). The heads of the bird and its rider are lacking. He rides to r., with his arms clasped on, or round, the neck of the bird, and both legs hang down on the bird's r. side; a long fold of his cloak falls from his shoulder on to the r. wing. Back not worked; hollow, with small round holes at back and below; on round base. Fine pink clay. H. .096. [Cf. the figurine from Naukratis, *B.M. C* 613.]

165 (Leeds, Inv. No. 43). Grotesque figure carrying wine-jars. The figure has exaggeratedly hideous features—retreating forehead, hooked nose and huge mouth. He wears a short chiton and moves to l., carrying two (three?) *diotae* apparently slung from a pole across his shoulders. His feet are lacking. Fine pink clay; hollow, with thin walls, but surface much rubbed. H. .088.

166 (Leeds, Inv. No. lacking). Upper part of a small grotesque bearded figure. He wears a tall pointed cap, round the bottom of which is apparently an elaborate turban.<sup>2</sup> The hair is done in a short pigtail which falls midway between his shoulders. He wears a chiton with *apoptygma*, roughly rendered with incisions. Front of chest lacking, and back broken at waist. Light buff clay, with features carefully modelled. H. .065.

167 (Leeds, Inv. No. lacking). Draped right arm from small figurine, broken at shoulder and

<sup>1</sup> I cannot find this signature elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> The cap resembles that of the quaint bearded 'Fire-demons' on the brazier-handles, Conze, *Fakrbuch*, l.c. type I, and Figs. on p. 121, but the turban is not a feature of these

figures. The pigtail seems to prove that this is not fluffed-out hair appearing below the cap. I cannot trace a similar type elsewhere.



above wrist. Poor work, fine pink clay. I. over elbow, .085.

5. *Heads, Complete or Broken off Figures.*

168 (B.M. D 756). Head of Hera (?). Hair parted and waved back each side, with single lock in front of each ear; wears *stephane* with row of raised ornaments, and necklace of pendants. Hollow; an imitation of the Etruscan bronze *balsamaria*.<sup>1</sup> Hole in crown forming orifice, and others each side for attachment of chains.

169 (*a, b*) (Fig. 31. Leeds, Inv. Nos. 19 and 26). Head of Hera (?). Two examples from the same mould; *a* (No. 19) is better impressed than the other. The hair is superficially rendered in curls and waved back under a plain *stephane*, which is continued down to the base of the neck to form a background. Poor modelling, but the profile is not without merit.<sup>2</sup> Back not worked; hollow, resting on a slight plinth at the base of the neck. *a* lacks part of neck and plinth, but is otherwise perfect; *b* is chipped on nose, hair and *stephane*. Coarse red clay. H. .132.

170 (B.M. D 762). Female head. The hair is drawn up in parallel tresses and plaited round the head, the plaits are fastened in a knot at the top. Nose worn; edges broken below; traces of red colour. Only the front half of the head is modelled, the back hollowed out like a mask. H. .134.

171 (B.M. D 763). Female head. Hair parted and waved. Nose and r. temple injured. Front of head only, as last, hollowed out at back. Coarse red clay. H. .089.

172 (B.M. D 764). Female head. Hair parted and crimped, with fillet; has been coloured dark red. Top of head and back not worked; base filled in; large hole in top, with a small one on either side, probably for suspension (cf. No. 163). H. .092.

173 (B.M. D 765). Female head, with wavy

curls of hair down the sides. Back not worked; hollow below. Indistinct, and lacking top and part of back. H. .076.

174 (Fig. 31. Leeds, Inv. No. 27). Female head, broken off at base of neck. Hair parted and waved back in large locks, with plain *stephane*; heavy curls hang down on to shoulders. Eyes, nostrils and mouth retouched after moulding. Back flat and not worked; solid, with a small hole on top of head. Pink clay, like that of later architectural terracottas, and creamy-yellow slip. Poor work. H. .105.

175 (Leeds, Inv. No. lacking). Female head, broken off at base of neck. The head is slightly inclined to r.; the hair is gathered into a knot at the back. Solid; the features are obliterated; very poor work. Brownish clay. H. .063.

176 (Leeds, Inv. No. lacking). Female head, broken, as the two last; wears a high *stephane*, and both clay and style suggest that it belonged to a body like No. 155 (which it does not join). Surface badly damaged, but less bad work than most of the smaller figurines from the site. Hollow; a piece of the neck is lacking. Buff clay; badly fired. H. .052.

177 (Leeds, Inv. No. lacking). Female head, broken, as the last; wears a close-fitting cap or sun-bonnet; at the back of the head, on the cap, is a shapeless unworked lump of clay, perhaps intended to represent the knot into which the hair is drawn back, and naively put outside instead of underneath the cap. Nose missing; indifferent work. Pink clay, with remains of white chalky slip. H. .04.

178 (Leeds, Inv. No. lacking). Veiled female head, broken as the last; draped in a hood or veil which is passed over the head and covers the neck and throat; the folds are indicated with rough incisions. Well-modelled features, of matronly type. Fine red-brown clay without applied colour. H. .041.

179 (Leeds, Inv. No. lacking). Female head,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *B.M. Bronzes*, 756 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The type is not unlike the Hera Ludovisi, but cannot be earlier than the third century B.C. (and may be later). It is

noteworthy that no terracotta was found representing Juno Sospita as worshipped at Lanuvium; cf. the types collected and discussed by Miss E. M. Douglas, *J.R.S.* iii. (1913), pp. 61 ff.

broken as the last; the hair is rendered merely with a large lump at the back, as in No. 175. Wears enormous double earrings formed of shapeless lumps of clay; the l. ear projects abnormally, the r. ear is broken off. Fine buff clay; crude work. H. .04.

180 (Leeds, Inv. No. lacking). Female head, broken as the last; wears a hood, which forms background, as in No. 154; thin features, poorly modelled. Nose broken off. Dark red clay. H. .037.

181 (B.M. D 759). Head of Eros (?). Hair thick and curly; covered with a reddish-yellow glaze. Much worn and scraped; solid. H. .064.

182 (B.M. D 760). Youthful male head. Hair in curls over forehead. Back flat, mostly broken away; discoloured by fire. H. .114.

183 (B.M. D 761). Youthful head, looking to his l. Hair curly over the forehead and at sides, with fillet. Scopaic type, with heavy eyebrows and keen expression. Solid; has been coloured red. H. .064.

#### 6. *Isolate Members of the Body, etc.*

184 (Fig. 31. Leeds, Inv. No. 24). Human eyes and nose, complete. Fair modelling, but little expression. The r. eye is modelled less carefully than the l. (perhaps to represent it as diseased?). Dark red clay. H. .06.

185 (Fig. 31. Leeds, Inv. No. 25). Human left ear. Similar clay; damaged. H. .072.

186 (Fig. 31. Leeds, Inv. No. 22). Left foot; the big toe curls upwards. Hollow; small hole pierced on outside, below ankle-bone. Red clay, as the two last. L. .22; h. .115, on plinth .022 high.

187 (Fig. 31. Leeds, Inv. No. 20). Right foot, of similar style. A mark (possibly intended to represent a scar?)<sup>1</sup> runs from between big and second toe along top of foot and up front of shin. L. .195; h. .105.

188 (Leeds, Inv. No. 23). L. foot, of similar style, but larger scale. The front of the foot and the inside of the heel are lacking. H. .155.

189 (Leeds, Inv. No. 21). L. foot, of similar style, which has been broken longitudinally. The inner half and the toes are lacking. L. .165; h. .12.

190 (Leeds, Inv. No. 11). Small fragment which is apparently the l. big toe of a foot (statue?) of life-size. The nail and toe-joint are carefully modelled; broken at joint, and on l. where the second toe joined it. Gritty clay of early type, light buff in colour; the toe is coloured dark red, the nail not coloured. L. .048.

191 (B.M. D 766). Left hand, folded over a right hand, with the two first fingers extended. Back flat, solid. H. .076.

#### 7. *Animals, Miscellaneous Vase-fragments, etc.*

192 (Fig. 30. Leeds, Inv. No. lacking (?).) Head of a gryphon, modelled in the round. It wears a collar, has a mane divided into segments, plumage on the neck, and down (or muscles?) on the throat indicated by parallel wavy grooves. Broken off below the collar, and tip of the nose lacking. Pink clay, free from grit or other foreign matter; remains of white slip. H. .185. [Possibly architectural, e.g. from an Akroterion, but of this there is no internal evidence.<sup>2</sup>]

193 (Leeds, Inv. No. lacking). Pigeon (?), lacking head and legs and with a piece broken off the tail. The legs had been inserted into small holes. Hollow, possibly a toy intended as a rattle. Light buff clay. L. .057.

194 (Leeds, Inv. No. lacking). Boar (?), with long pointed head. Solid between legs, but moulded hollow. Thick spinal ridge. L. .098; h. .058; dark red clay.

195 (Leeds, Inv. No. lacking). Goat (?), of similar style, lacking its head. L. .086; h. .065.

196 (Leeds, Inv. No. lacking). Cylindrical neck of vase, terminating above in form of a

<sup>1</sup> This may indicate simply a break in manufacture, remedied by patching with liquid clay and re-baking: but it is not clearly visible up the back of the heel. No. 189 is half of a similar foot

which has split longitudinally.

<sup>2</sup> For gryphons as Akroteria see Mrs. Van Buren's *Figurative Terra-Cotta Revetments*, pp. 36 f., type I.

grotesque animal's head (of uncertain type), with small hole pierced in nose. Yellow clay, with light orange glaze. H. .07; diam. below, .033.

197 (B.M. D 768). Handle of vase, at each end of which is a mask of Silenus in low relief, with flat features and long flowing beard. L. .168.

198 (Leeds, Inv. No. lacking). Two similar cylindrical objects with widened flat ends, perhaps bobbins. L. .071 and .058; max. diam. of each .035; dark red clay.

199 (Leeds, Inv. No. lacking). Group of

ornaments strung together to form a necklace, comprising four lion-masks, four conical and four reel-like pendants. No traces of colour, but perhaps originally gilt or silvered; hard grey-buff clay.

200 (Leeds, Inv. No. lacking). Weight, rectangular in section, but tapering slightly towards the top, where it is pierced horizontally with a round hole .006 in diam. H. .116; br. .073; th. .06 (at base). Buff clay with fine particles of grit. Incised on top ✕.

### POTTERY (PLATE XXVIII).

#### 1. ATTIC.<sup>1</sup>

Nos. 1-15 are shown on Pl. XXVIII.

1. Foot of b.f. kylix without stem. In centre of interior, surrounded with a purple circle, a Gorgoneion, with ears and tongue added in purple, and teeth in white. Outer design lost; a purple band round junction of foot and body. Diam. of foot .063. Date, late sixth century.

2. Foot of r.f. kylix, with short plain stem, broken. In interior, remains of two male figures, undraped; that to r. stands with legs together and r. forearm extended, the palm of the hand upwards, that to l. with left leg advanced, l. hand hanging down. Uncertain object at top of design, between the two figures. Subject uncertain. Moderate work, of third quarter of fifth century.

3. Half of the broken foot of a kylix without stem. In interior, a wrestling scene; the figure to l. stoops, with r. leg advanced, and lifts his opponent off the ground with a frontal waist-hold. On the underneath are unevenly spaced concentric circles

in black paint, of which the central one is .003 in diam.; the third from the centre is on a narrow raised ridge. The edge of the foot is black with a narrow nick or sunk beading mid-way down. Diam. .085. Fair work, of third quarter of fifth century.

The nearest parallel is a kylix at Göttingen, with similar foot and decoration beneath.<sup>2</sup> For vases with wrestling scenes, and a discussion of the various holds, E. Norman Gardiner's studies should be consulted.<sup>3</sup>

4. Fragment from the neck of a large amphora (or column-crater?), with remains of a band of elongated lotus buds, in black, from which spring divergent pairs of curved lines, forming a network above. Traces of tongue-pattern on shoulder. H. .07, broken on all sides; ancient rivet-hole.

5. Fragment from the shoulder of a neck-amphora (?); above is a tongue-pattern; on the l., the remains of the frame of the panel. From the main design only part of a Satyr's head to r. is preserved; he is bald and bearded.<sup>4</sup> H. .033,

<sup>1</sup> I wish to record my indebtedness to Professor J. D. Beazley, who has examined the Attic fragments; the dates and parallels suggested are almost all due to his ready assistance.

<sup>2</sup> P. Jacobsthal, *Göttinger Vasen*, p. 23, Fig. 44; cf. also Rome, Villa Giulia 6080 (athlete and woman with ribbon); Bryn Mawr, U.S.A., *A.J.A.* 1916, p. 338 (woman and Silenus); Leipzig, *Jahrb.* xi. (1896), p. 193, Fig. 41 (Aphrodite on a goose). By the same hand as the two last, the stemless cup *British Museum Inv.*

1917, 7. 26. 2, and (?) the marriage pyxis, *ibid.* (cf. Sotheby's *Sale Catalogue*, Dec. 6, 7, 1920, Pl. 2; published now by H. B. Walters, *J.H.S.* xli. (1921), p. 144, and Fig. 13).

<sup>3</sup> *J.H.S.* xxv. (1905), pp. 263 ff.; *Greek Athletics*, pp. 382 ff.

<sup>4</sup> (Reminds me of the Penthesilea painter (*Vases in America*, pp. 129-32), and at any rate belongs to that period, say 475-460.' —J. D. B.) Cf. Hoppin, *Handbook of R.F. Vases*, ii. pp. 337 ff.

l. .088; broken on all sides. The glaze, which has partly flaked off, is a deep lustrous dark green.

## 2. ITALO-GREEK WARE.<sup>1</sup>

(a) *With designs in matt-red on lustrous black.*  
(Buff clay, not unlike Attic, but somewhat less pink in the fractures.)<sup>2</sup>

6. Small fragment. On l. vertical line perhaps from panel-division; on r., advanced l. leg, down to knee, of a draped figure. H. .048; th. .006.

7. Small fragment from crater, broken on all sides. On moulding below lip, a narrow purple line, with a long leaf horizontally below it; of main design only parts of two similar leaves pointing upwards are preserved. H. .065; th. .0045.

8. Fragment of rim and side of kotyle (?). Tongue-pattern above, and in panel between two vertical lines draped figure to l. Crude work, no incisions being used to indicate details of features, arms or drapery. Top and back of head indicated in outline, the hair being left in the black of the background. H. .093; th. .0033.

9. Fragment from shoulder of small amphora (?). Row of dots above; female (?) figure to l. No incisions, but outline of head shewn by dotted line. Not so crude as the previous piece.

10. Fragment of rim and side of kotyle (?). No upper border; draped figure with hair falling in plait behind, and r. arm folded under cloak on breast. In lower r. corner remains of plant-ornament. Eye and folds of drapery incised, but apparently here, as in Nos. 11-15, in modern times with the point of a lead pencil. H. .06.

11. Fragment of foot of kotyle (?) with remains of draped female figure standing to l. and of plant-ornament behind. Framed below with two horizontal lines. H. .053.

12. Fragment of similar style but without foot. Probably a male figure. Coarse work, the r. foot is 3 millimetres longer than the l. H. .072.

13. Fragment of small kotyle, complete above. No upper border; to l., plant-ornament with two symmetrical pairs of large leaves; to r., draped figure with r. arm in fold of cloak on breast. H. .061.

14. Small fragment of rim and side of kotyle. No upper border; upper part of draped male figure to l., head in outline as on No. 8. H. .045.

15. Similar, but rather larger fragment. Plant-ornament with three pairs of leaves placed symmetrically, on l.; draped male figure on r., with staff held obliquely in outstretched r. hand. H. .078.

16 (a-d). Four fragments of skyphoi (?), of which *a* and *b* are from the rim, and *c* preserves part of the spout, decorated with spiral sprays and plant-ornaments as on Nos. 10, 11, etc. The largest measures .055 × .055.

17. Small fragment of similar style, with spiral above and key-pattern below; black glaze on outside only; shape uncertain.

18. Fragment from rim and side of uncertain type of vase, concave in profile, with inverted lily (?) on long stalk. H. .085.

19. Shallow hemispherical cup (karchesion?) with ring-foot, and vertical handles, decorated with wreath in white paint between two narrow bands of red. H. .051; diam. .10; diam. of foot .046.

## (b) *South Italian Ware* ('Apulian' Style).<sup>3</sup>

20. Fragmentary lekane, comprising stem and foot, part of design of one side only, and about two-thirds of the rim. (Nine fragments in all, of which seven are pieced together; the other two join together, but do not fit on to the remainder.) Lip raised, large knobs and two vertical handles (missing) on shoulder; nick round foot. Of the main design, a woman reclining to r. and tying a long fillet round her hair, the head, r. shoulder and r. arm are lost. A large palmette and circles in solid black paint survive from the remainder of

<sup>1</sup> Under this heading are included the examples—which are mostly devoid of interest and artistic merit alike—of the various types of pottery described in *B.M. Vases*, vol. iv.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *B.M. Vases*, iv. p. 22 f., and F 523-42.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *ibid.*, p. 20 f., and F 269-477.

the design. H. .22; diam. of mouth .075, of base .095.

21. Small lekane, complete except that one handle has been restored. R.f. technique with details added in white, on rich brown background.

Plain tongues and small wart-like knobs on shoulder. Main design consists of (a) Woman seated to r. on a small white stool; she holds a large shallow basket containing a lily (?), and wears long chiton with *apophrygia*. Her hair is gathered into an elongated knot behind; she has four bracelets on r. wrist, two on l., and two anklets on l. ankle, added in white. Ivy leaf and crown (?) in field. (b) Androgynous winged Eros seated to l. In his l. hand, which hangs down, he holds a crown, and in his r. a mirror. He wears three bracelets on each wrist and ankle. Palmettes at each side under handle. H. .118; diam. of mouth .033, of base .054.

22. Wide-necked oinochoe, lacking foot and rim. On front of neck, female head to l., silhouetted in white with details added in yellow. On front of body of vase, two similar heads facing. Palmette under handle. H. .21; diam. of neck .054.

23. Small globular lekythos, decorated with similar head in profile to l. H. .075; neck missing.

24. Phiale, with short-stemmed foot, and thickened rim. In centre, female head in silhouette to l., on dark brownish-green background. Thick band on rim, from which spring tangential spirals. H. .056; diam. .137, of base .068.

25 (a, b, c). Three fragments of phialai of similar type and decoration; b alone has the foot.

26. Similar phiale, but with geometric design only in centre, consisting of a cross with four chevrons in the intervals; similar rim ornament to the last two Nos.; dimensions as for No. 24.

27. (a, b). Two fragments of similar phialai; b lacks the foot.

28 (a, b). Two similar phialai, on low ring-

foot; similar ornament. Diam. .118 and .108 respectively.

29. Lid, from small lekane, decorated with radial stripes in brown paint on buff clay. Handle broken; diam. .051.

(c) 'Tarentine' Ware.<sup>1</sup>

This comprises vases and fragments decorated with ivy or other wreaths in white on lustrous black glaze, sometimes supplemented by incised lines to indicate the stalk of the wreath.

30. Askos, with wreath of lilies (?) round the body at its widest point. Brownish glaze, unevenly fired. H. .10; diam. of base .053; handle broken.

31. Cup (kantharos?) with flanged rim and two handles, without stem. The handles are vertical, double-ribbed, and united with a horizontal clay ring. A wreath with tiny leaves runs round the upper part of the body. Diam. of rim .08; a large fragment is missing from the side and foot.

32 (a, b). Fragment from the rim, including handle, of a similar cup, with a plain lip. H. .043. (b) Another rim fragment, with the stalk of the wreath indicated by incisions; thinner ware than a. H. .045.

33. Small jug, with handle as No. 31, decorated with a plain wreath, of which the leaves are white and the stalk is yellow, on a level with the bottom of the handle. H. .10; rim chipped.

34. Two adjoining fragments of a large and well-made platter. The ornament on the interior is an ivy wreath, with alternate leaves and clusters of berries, the stalk and tendrils indicated by incisions; narrow bands of white above and below. Diam. originally ca. .22.

35. Small fragment from the wide and flat rim of a platter of which the lower surface is not glazed. Similar style of wreath but poorer work; an old rivet-hole near the edge of the fracture. L. .10.

36. Fragment of a conical lid, with stemmed

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *B.M. Vases*, iv. p. 23, and F 543-594.

handle; on top of the handle is a star-pattern; around the lid a frieze of large fish.<sup>1</sup> H. .05.

(d) *Black-glazed Ware with Moulded Ornament.*

37. Fragment from the rim and side of a large straight-sided jar with a flat projecting rim. On the side are two bands of vertical flutings; on the space between them faint traces of colour. H. .091.

38. Half of a squat vessel with a low ring-foot, raised rim and flat top pierced with small holes, and apparently no other aperture. Parallel vertical flutings on the side. H. .064; diam. .106. (An incense burner?).

(e) *Calenian and other Black-glaze Phialai, and Miscellaneous Shapes.*

39. Fragment from phiale with ring-foot. On a sunk medallion in the centre (.02 in diam.) figure of Heracles advancing to l. holding a kantharos in his r. hand and a tall amphora in his left: a lion-skin is over his left arm. Beneath the kantharos is a small altar, and his club stands in the field between the altar and his r. leg. Diam. of foot .058.

For a somewhat similar impression, apparently from an unknown coin of Heraclea, cf. *B.M. Vases*, iv., G 123, and for a known coin, a similar fragment in the British Museum (Inv. No. 1904, 6. 1. 2); a fuller list is given by R. Pagenstecher, *Die Calenische Relief-Keramik, Jahrb. Ergänzungsheft*, viii. (1909), p. 15 f., who distinguishes two main types, Herakles with *cornucopiae* and with club respectively.

40 (a-h). Eight small phialai, with average diameter of .13. (a) is stamped (four times) on the interior with the letter T; (b) with a seven-lobed palmette (once); (c) with a nine-lobed palmette on an angular stalk (four times); (d) with a rosette-of-twelve (four times); (e) with a rosette-of-eight (four times); (f) has the letter K incised on the foot; (g) is plain; (h) is unglazed on the lower half of the outside.

41 (a-r). Sixteen smaller phialai (a-p) of similar shape, but without ornament of any sort. Average diameter .07; and two (q, r) of brownish glaze, diam. .079 and .08 respectively.

42 (a-d). Four plain phialai with sides slightly carinated; undecorated. Diam. (a) .096; (b) .093; (c) .091; (d) .073; b and c lack fragments of the rim; d lacks part of the side.

43 (a-z). Twenty-six small saucers, some with rudimentary ring-foot, others almost flat below. Average diameter .035.

44 (a-f). Five shallow saucers with overhanging inbent rims. Diam. of the largest (a) .102; of the smallest (e) .042; and one (f) of reddish glaze, diam. .044.

45 (Fig. 36, 4). Fragment from the base of a shallow bowl or large phiale with ring-foot, as No. 39. On the inside are stamped two rosettes-of-sixteen, .009 in diameter (probably two more missing). On the outside is incised, after baking, the inscription —NEIO·SALVIO). It is not clear how many (if any) letters are lost from the beginning, nor does an obvious restoration suggest itself. *Salvio* might perhaps be dative of an otherwise unknown adjective formed from the root *Salv-* (cf. *salus*, *salveo*, etc.) with the sense of 'the protector.'<sup>2</sup> The date may be as early as the third century B.C.

46. Fragment of a similar base, with elaborate stamped and incised ornament. The outer border consists of roulette-hatching .012 broad enclosed in two double concentric incised lines, then five (one lacking) equidistant palmettes with ten lobes, stamped; then another pair of concentric lines, and the central medallion, .021 in diameter, is like a four-petalled flower with circular centre, and tiny shoots and leaves in the spaces between the petals. Diam. of foot .062.

47 (a, b). Two small jugs, as No. 33, but without painted ornament. H. .10.

48. Candlestick with stemmed foot, the upper surface impressed with two concentric rows

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the fish-plates, *B.M. Vases*, iv. p. 19, and F 254-268.

<sup>2</sup> *Salvius* is not a rare name, especially among freedmen and

slaves; cf. Dessau, *I.L.S. Index Cognominum*, s.v.; but this can hardly be the explanation of this inscription.

of dots. Foot and projecting socket broken. H. .063; diam. .097.

49. Fragment of shallow platter with ring-foot and outbent rim which hangs over vertically; there is a circular hollow countersunk in the centre of the interior. Original diam. *ca.* .27.

50. Fragment of similar platter with almost horizontal rim. In the centre is stamped a rosette-of-six, with six pellets between the lobes; round this is a band of roulette-hatching. Original diam. *ca.* .21.

51. Fragment of similar platter with a broad rim. In the centre is stamped a rosette-of-seven. Diam. .18; breadth of rim .035.

52 (*a, b*). Two fragments of small phialai, as No. 40, with ring-foot. *a* is stamped with a rosette-of-nine (four times); *b* with a group of seven pellets around a central one (four times).

53. Fragment from the centre of a large shallow bowl, broken all round. In the centre is painted H (.05 high) in cream paint. Present diam. .16; diam. of foot .08.

54 (*a, b*). *a*. Part of a kylix, comprising portion of rim and side, and stumps of one handle. In the centre is painted a cruciform ornament, with four groups of three pellets each in the intervals between the arms; all surrounded with two concentric circles. Creamy-pink paint. Orig. diam. .132. *b*. Handle, apparently from a similar kylix.

55. Neck of bottle-shaped vessel with moulded lip, pierced with a string-hole below the moulding. H. .072; diam. at fracture .033.

(*f*) *Miscellaneous.*

56. Shallow hemispherical bowl, with ring-foot. Poor bright red glaze; foot unpainted; rim chipped. Not Arretine ware. Diam. .14.

57. Small saucer with flat rim; brownish glaze. Diam. .06; do. of rim .15.

58. Ditto, without foot; red glaze. Diam. .076.

59 (*a-p*). Sixteen small 'lekythoid amphorae,'

ranging in height from .104 to .073. Nine have the neck painted red, the remainder black, in a thin matt wash, the rest of the vessel being left plain.

60. Long-necked 'lekythoid amphora,' with traces of red paint. H. .21; the outer surface of the belly is grooved with horizontal wheel-marks. For a fragment of a similar vase, but unpainted, see No. 106.

3. ARRETINE WARE.

(*a*) *Decorated Ware.*

There are fragments of about twenty-four separate vessels, of which the majority are undecorated, and none of the decorated examples belongs to the best artistic period of the industry. All those which bear any kind of ornament are reproduced in Fig. 32, and five of the plain shapes, together with a selection of the more interesting stamps, are given in Fig. 33.

61 (*a*) (Fig. 32, 1). Large fragment, broken through, of the rim and side of a hemispherical bowl *ca.* .275 m. in diameter. Bright red semi-lustrous glaze, in good preservation. Decoration in zones. The drawing renders detailed description unnecessary. Form and decoration alike show the joint influence of S. Gaulish bowls (Dragendorff's Forms 29 and 37), but this is clearly of Italian, not Gaulish, manufacture, and seems to belong to the latest phase of the Arretine industry.<sup>1</sup>

61 (*b*). Another fragment of the same bowl (not illustrated). Length .14 m.; with rim and portion of three uppermost zones of decoration.

62 (Fig. 32, 2). Fragment, broken on all sides, of a large bowl (resembling Dr. Form 29) with (1) everted lip with rough rouletting; (2) narrow zone of double spirals forming a wreath, with a wavy line below; (3) zone of demi-medallions; from the r. extremity of each springs a spiral stalk ending in a small bud, and from the junction of each pair hangs a dart-like object. No. 64 (below) is perhaps the foot of this bowl.

<sup>1</sup> For other late examples cf. Déchelette, *Les Vases Céramiques ornées de la Gaule Romaine*, i. p. 114; B.M. *Roman Pottery*,

introd. p. xvii, and L. 138; T. May, *The Pottery from Silchester*, Pl. II., Nos. 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, and p. 9 f.

63 (Fig. 32, 3). Fragment of rim and side. Good bright red glaze. There is rouletting on the rim, which has two grooves of beading below it; on the plain zone below this is a conventional ornament like a candelabrum with a large extinguisher, which reaches up to the rim; on the moulding below is, again, a band of rouletting, and in the main field of the ornament is a zone of small vertical tongues, with an uncertain object

with vertical rim, on which are applied, in relief, a small dolphin to r., and three concentric rings. Lustrous light red glaze. The original shape is perhaps that illustrated by Oswald and Pryce, *Terra Sigillata*, Pl. XLII., 10; in this case the concentric rings will have formed part of a sham handle; cf. *op. cit.* p. 174 and Pl. XXXIX., 2.

66 (Fig. 32, 6). Fragment from the rim of a saucer with *barbotine* decoration on each side,

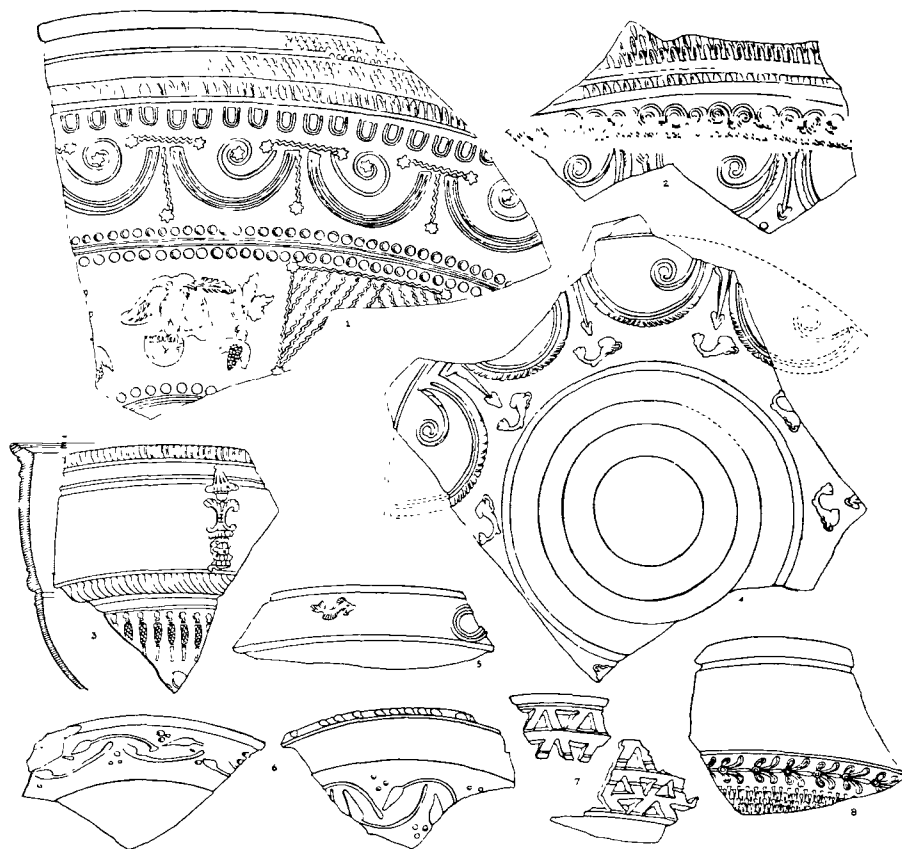


FIG. 32. ARRETINE WARE: DECORATED FRAGMENTS. (Scale 1:3.)

below. I can find no exact parallel for either the shape or the ornamentation.

64 (Fig. 32, 4). Large fragment, including the base, of a wide (hemispherical?) bowl. Light red glaze, somewhat damaged by calcareous incrustation. By its decoration this must come from the same workshop, if not actually the same bowl, as No. 62. On the inside is the stamp SEX M·F, who is known as one of the latest potters of the Arretine industry (see below, stamp No. 7).

65 (Fig. 32, 5). Fragment of a small saucer

consisting both above and below of curved stalks ending in dart-shaped leaves, with dots in groups of three or singly; on the lower side the curve of the stalks has a shorter radius. On the vertical edge of the rim is a row of 'blobs' also *en barbotine*.

67 (Fig. 32, 7). Two small fragments, which do not join, of the vertical rim of a small conical bowl (perhaps an incense-burner), pierced with four rows of triangular holes, with the bases alternately upward and downward. I am acquainted with no similar example.



68 (Fig. 32, 8). Rim fragment of a small beaker (diameter *ca.* .067 m.) with lip slightly everted. Good, bright red glaze; thin fabric (*ca.* .002 m. thick). Blank zone below rim; below this is a zone of small palmettes forming a wreath, and the main field is decorated with a band of small raised dart-points. This should perhaps be ascribed to the same workshop as *B.M. Roman Pottery*, M1 (cf. Déchelette, *op. cit.* i. p. 39), attributed to the Po valley; the general profile is not dissimilar, but the lip of the *B.M.* example curves inward, whereas this piece is in profile more like Dr. Form 52. Perhaps the fragment of unglazed ware with the stamp of M. CVSO[NI], No. 108 below, belongs to the same group.

(b) *Undecorated Ware.*

69 (Fig. 33, 1). Small platter, of dullish red glaze, resembling the S. Gaulish form Dr. 18.

71. Fragment of a similar cup. For the stamp *Lysim'ac(hus) Titi* see No. 10 below.

72 (Fig. 33, 5). Base and side of somewhat similar cup, but with concave inner surface of base. For the stamp see No. 17 below.

73. Base only of small cup probably resembling Nos. 70–72. For the stamp VII.LI see No. 11 below.

74 (Fig. 33, 4). Base and portion of side of conical cup with flat base, larger than the preceding, probably resembling Dr. Form 5, or Loeschcke, *Haltern*, V., Pl. X., 8b (cf. T. May, *The Pottery from Silchester*, Pl. IV. No. 4, and p. 11 f.). For the stamp *Gem'nus* see No. 5 below.

75. Another similar base. For the stamp *Atei* see No. 2 below.

76 (Fig. 33, 2). Base and part of side of hemispherical bowl of uncertain type (but perhaps as

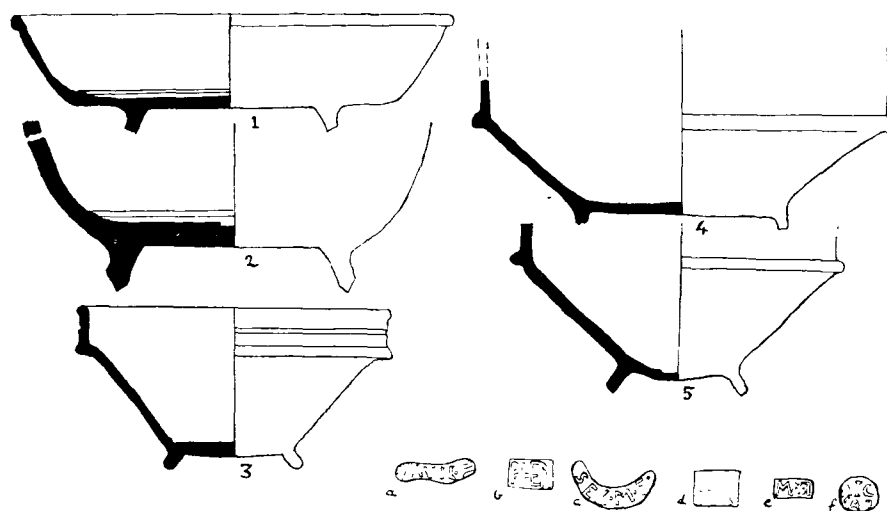


FIG. 33. ARRETINE WARE: PLAIN SHAPES AND UNUSUAL STAMPS. (Scale 1 : 2.)

Diameter .116; complete but for two small chips from the rim. For the stamp POTI see No. 8 below.

70 (Fig. 33, 3). Small conical cup, of which the base and part of side are preserved; the base is flat on the inside. This is a common shape represented by Dr. Form 26, and Ritterling, *Hofheim*, Pl. XXXI., 5; cf. Oswald and Pryce, *op. cit.* Pl. XXXVIII., 2. For the Stamp AVIL (?) see No. 3 below.

Ritterling, *Hofheim*, Pl. XXXI., 8). For the stamp 39A see No. 1 below.

77. Base of somewhat smaller hemispherical bowl. For the stamp see No. 14 below.

78. Base of small bowl, similar to No. 76. For the stamp see No. 16 below.

79. Ditto. For the stamp see No. 15 below.

80. Small fragment of base, perhaps similar to the above. For the stamp *Piloc'alus* see No. 13 below.

81. Base of small bowl or deep platter with quarter-round moulding at junction of side and base. Not enough of the side is preserved to prove its possible identity with the type Dr. Form 17.<sup>1</sup> For the stamp *D : Oci mus* see No. 4 below.

82. Base of large platter, with perfectly flat inner surface, as far as it is preserved; it has a high foot-stand of which the inner face is almost vertical, as in the platter from Haltern reproduced by Oswald and Pryce, *op. cit.* Pl. XLII., 12,<sup>2</sup> and on the upper surface of the base is a band of roulette-hatching at a distance of .115 m. from the centre, flanked by two incised rings. For the stamp *Auctus C. Voluseni* see No. 12 below.

83. Base of large platter, on lower foot-stand than the preceding; there is likewise a band of roulette-hatching on the upper surface of the base, but no incised rings. The base is very slightly concave above, but the original shape is doubtful. For the stamp *P Her* see No. 6 below.

84. Base of small platter, on low foot-stand, with a band of roulette-hatching, and two incised rings on upper surface; a small portion of the curved side is preserved, but the shape cannot be confidently restored. For the stamp *L. Rasin. Pis.* see No. 9 below.

#### *Stamps on Arretine Ware.*<sup>3</sup>

1. **ΞΑ.** On the base of No. 76. The stamp ARE occurs at Novaesium, *C.I.L.* xiii. 10,009, 41*b*, and has been found in Rome, *C.I.L.* xv. 2, 4998*d*, but I cannot trace it reversed, as here.

2. **ATEI.** On the small fragment No. 75. Cf. *C.I.L.* xv. 2, 5007*r*; *B.M. Roman Pottery*, p. 36, I.123.

3 (Fig. 33, *a*) **AVIL(?)** in *planta pedis*. Blurred impression, on No. 70. It is not certain whether this should read I·AVIL as *C.I.L.* xv. 2, 5031*a*, or AVIII as *ibid.* 5036 *g*.

4. **D:O.CI MVS**. On No. 81. Cf. *C.I.L.* xv. 2, 5179*f*, except for the V which is VA ligatured.

5. **GEM NVS**. On No. 74. Cf. *C.I.L.* xv. 2, 5232.

6 (Fig. 33, *b*). **PIER** [*P. Her(tori)*]. On No. 83. Cf. *C.I.L.* xv. 2, 5256*u*; for an example from Tarraco in Spain, *C.I.L.* ii. 4970, 225.

7 (Fig. 33, *c*). **SEX·M·F**. On No. 64, in a lunette-shaped frame. Cf. *C.I.L.* xv. 2, 5297*c* (also a decorated bowl).

8. **POTI** in *planta pedis*. On No. 69. Cf. *C.I.L.* xv. 2, 5458.

9. **L·RASINPIS** in *planta pedis* [*L. Rasin(i) Pis(eni)*]. On No. 84. Cf. *C.I.L.* xv. 2, 5496*c*, though lacking the stops after the N and final S as there given. Cf. also 5496*d*, which is more like our example, but is not in *planta pedis*.

10. **LYSIM AC·TIT** [*Lysim ac(hus?) L. Tit*]. Poor, careless lettering. On No. 71. Cf. *C.I.L.* xi. 2, 6700 (717*b*); xv. 2, 5686.

11. **VILLI'** in *planta pedis*. On No. 73. Cf. *C.I.L.* xv. 2, 5762*a*, which, however, has no stop at the end.

12. **AVCTVS CVOLVSENI'**. On No. 82. This particular slave of the potter *C. Volusenus* seems hitherto unknown. For his other slaves cf. *C.I.L.* xv. 2, 5790–94; for slaves of other Arretine potters with the name of *Auctus*, *C.I.L.* xi. 2, 6700 (36, 76, 820); xv. 2, 4977, 5024 *a–g*, 5472.

13 (Fig. 2, *d*). **PILOC ALVS** [*Pilocalus* = *Philocalus*]. On a small fragment, No. 80. The name is written in small carefully formed dots, with an ornamental partition between the two lines. I cannot trace it elsewhere on Arretine pottery. The omission of the H after P in similar stamps is frequent.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the history of this shape and its Arretine prototypes, see Oswald and Pryce, *op. cit.* pp. 173 ff., and Plates XLII., XLIII.

<sup>2</sup> Loeschke, *Haltern*, V., Pl. X., 3 B.

<sup>3</sup> A few more stamped pieces of this ware came to light in the

excavations of 1914–15, including another example of stamp No. 4 (*Docmus*). Cf. Bendinelli, *op. cit.* p. 330 f.

<sup>4</sup> For the name similarly spelt, cf. *C.I.L.* iv. 882 (dedication on a fresco at Pompeii); and of the normal form, various examples in Dessau, *I.L.S. Index Cognominum*, s.v.

14. **Λ·Α·Ρ·Ρ·V** in *planta pedis*. On No. 77. This stamp, of which the first letter is rather doubtful, is unknown to me elsewhere.

15. **HERX<**  
**VETOS** [*Herull. Vetos?*]. On No. 79. Blurred impression. I can find no similar stamp elsewhere. A possible alternative would be *Herac letos*.

16 (Fig. 33, e). Reading uncertain. On No. 78. Perhaps to be identified with the ligatured stamp **M·R·Π**, *C.I.L.* xi. 2, 6700 (3929), which offers the nearest parallel known to me.

17 (Fig. 33, f). **AIC**  
**A7** in a circle. On No. 72. I cannot find any stamp resembling this, unless it be regarded as a blundered version or imitation of that given in *C.I.L.* xi. 2, 6700 (107), which comprises **CN·AT·ZO** in three sectors of a circle.

#### 4. MISCELLANEOUS UNPAINTED WARES.

##### (a) 'Villanova' Period.

85. Small wide-mouthed amphora, of thick fabric, with two small handles. Below each handle, and also midway between them, is a raised nipple. Dull buff clay, with traces of burnishing on lower part of belly. H. .092; diam. of lip .076. This apparently resembles a vase, which has, however, only two nipples, from Ardea in the British Museum, attributed to the 'Villanova' period.<sup>1</sup>

##### (b) Wares of Various dates, not later than Hellenistic.

86. Small two-handled vase, rounded below; the handles do not reach to the rim. There are wheel-marks on the exterior. Coarse dark red clay, with traces of burning on one side. H. .09; diam. at rim .09; lip chipped.

87. Urn with projecting rim. Coarse fabric; dark red clay. H. .12; diam. at rim .11.

88. Similar urn, lacking part of rim and side. H. .067.

89. Small jug; reddish gritty clay; lip broken. H. .077.

90 (a, b). Two plain flat-bottomed cups with obliquely sloping sides, pinkish-buff clay. Diam. .082 and .087.

91. Small saucer of dark grey ware with traces of burnishing; handle lacking. Diam. .051.

92. Similar, but coarser ware, diam. at rim .033.

93 (a, b, c). Three tiny votive vases; (a) H. .021, diam. .03; (b) saucer, diam. .036; (c) lamp (?), diam. .024, with tall handle, .04 high, formed of a strip of clay folded back on itself.

94. Hellenistic (?) amphora with two handles rectangular in profile; pinkish clay, neck and one handle repaired. H. .194.

95. Similar, but lip broken and one handle lacking; wheel-marks form grooves on exterior. H. .146.

96. Similar to the two last. H. .116.

97. Lagena (?), with lip square in section, and rectangular handle. Pink clay. H. .144.

98. Askos, lacking spouts and handles. Light buff clay. H. .09.

99. Small jar with wide lip and tapering towards foot; thick fabric, with wheel-marks on exterior. Rim damaged. H. .103.

100. Similar, but of thinner fabric, chipped. H. .085.

101. Similar, undamaged. H. .115.

102. Similar, but with high conical lip; long tapering foot which is broken off.<sup>2</sup> H. .087.

103. Similar, but perhaps hand-made, as it is distinctly asymmetric. Dark red clay. H. .072.

104. Small pear-shaped jar with slight moulded lip; rim damaged; pink clay. H. .086.

105. Handle of double vase, of soft light buff clay.

106. Lower portion of 'lekythoid amphora,' like No. 60, but unpainted.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *B.M. Vases*, i. 2, H 21, and Introd., p. xxv.; cf. *Archaeologia*, xxxviii., Pl. 7, group 2.

<sup>2</sup> This type is perhaps not earlier than the Imperial period;

cf. an example from Silchester. T. May, *The Pottery from Silchester*, p. 113, and Pl. XLVII., type 54.

107. Handle of Rhodian amphora, with the stamp 'Επὶ Ξενοφάντου Ἀγριανίου around a rose. For this type cf. *I.G.* xii. 1, 1176 (4); for other examples found in Italy, with the same magistrate's name, *I.G.* xiv. 2393 (397, 398).

(c) *Miscellaneous Wares of the Imperial Period.*

108. Lower portion of a beaker or jar with ornament consisting of rows of dots arranged in four diamond-shaped panels separated by narrower panels of vertical rows, from which oblique rows spring upwards at an acute angle. These were evidently impressed in the mould, not applied *en barbotine*. Above the dots are the remains of the potter's name M·CVSO[NI] in raised letters ·0045 high. Pink clay, well baked; the sides are

less than 2 millimetres thick. H. ·062; diam. of base ·039. Perhaps from a factory in the Po valley (?); cf. No. 68 above, and Déchelette, *op. cit.* i. p. 40, 7 (a similarly decorated and unglazed beaker with the stamp *Buccio Norbani*).

109. One-handled cup with slight beaded lip. The sides are ornamented with 'rough cast' overlaid on a reddish-brown slip.<sup>1</sup> H. ·083; diam. of lip ·074.

110. Small two-handled bowl. Pink clay, with red matt slip. H. ·04; diam. ·07.

111. Two-handled cup, ornamented on each side with a double festoon of clay applied *en barbotine* and roughly serrated. Dark red matt slip from rim to level of bottom of handles, which are of a double loop. Broken and mended, but one piece lacking. H. ·046; diam. ·101.

## LAMPS.

THE numerous lamps found in the excavations are almost all at Leeds. Only four clay lamps, all more or less fragmentary, belonging to the Roman Imperial period were presented to the British Museum (Nos. 37, 44, 49, 92 in the following list). The single bronze lamp, at Leeds, is published below under the metal objects. The few Greek lamps, which all belong to one or other variety of the class with covered top, are of no particular interest, but the numerous Roman lamps, although many are represented by mere fragments, serve to illustrate several phases in the evolution of the shape and ornament of this class of object. Eighteen of them bear makers' stamps, which are tabulated separately below (p. 127). The inscription on the Greek lamp No. 7 is apparently unknown elsewhere.

The order of arrangement follows as closely as possible that given in the British Museum

*Catalogue of Greek and Roman Lamps* [1914] which I have found indispensable in preparing this section.

### 1. GREEK LAMPS (Fig. 34, 1-6 and 12).

[In the Leeds Museum, unless otherwise stated.]

1 (Fig. 34, 6). Form 42 (nearly).<sup>2</sup> Coarse lamp, apparently hand-made, of reddish-buff clay, without handle or lateral projection. Broad blunt nozzle, and large central orifice. L. ·075.

2. Similar, both as to clay and shape, but slightly narrower nozzle. L. ·075.

3. Similar, but slightly smaller. L. ·067.

4 (Fig. 34, 1). Form 47 (nearly). Double convex body, with projection on l. and ring handle, which are both broken off; sunk centre, round which is a raised moulding. Long nozzle slightly concave at sides, rounded above. Buff

<sup>1</sup> For this type cf. May, *op. cit.*, p. 111 f., and Pl. XLVII, types 46, 47, 51; and his references to finds from Haltern and Hofheim. It is not rare on Romano-British sites.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the Plates of Forms (Pl. XXXVIII.-XLIII.) in *B.M. Lamps*, *at 57*.

clay, with good black glaze (probably not Attic). L. .12; diam. of orifice .02.

5. Similar style, but without handle; pierced projection on l., broken away. Nozzle broken off short. Good pink clay, unpainted. L. .07.

6 (Fig. 34, 4). Form 50. Shallow 'delphiniform' type, with projection on l. and ring handle with three ribs. Long blunt-ended nozzle, with shallow groove on top, between two mouldings;



FIG. 34. LAMPS: NOS. 1-6 AND 12 GREEK, THE OTHERS ROMAN. (Scale 1:5.)

two moulded rings round central orifice. Round the body a coarsely moulded wreath with berries. Buff clay, with poor and discoloured brown glaze. L. .115.

7. Similar, but round the body are friezes as follow: (1) row of bead and reel, with a section of *ovolo* pattern opposite the groove leading to the nozzle; (2) wreath of leaves and dots; (3) bead

and reel; (4) leaves and dots or berries. Handle and nozzle broken. Grey clay with dull black paint. Diam. .058. On the base in relief is *Π* (see below under *Inscriptions*, No. 1).

8 (Fig. 34, 3). Similar, but round the body are radial flutings, and a triple moulding round the centre; ring handle with four ribs. Nozzle broken; clay as last, but the lower part is not painted. Diam. .058.

9. Similar, but without lateral projection; there is a row of bead and reel ornament between the central mouldings and the flutings, and an *ovolo* at the base of the groove leading to the nozzle. Similar clay, but traces of black glaze all over. Handle and nozzle broken. Diam. .058.

10. Form 51 (nearly). Deep bowl-shaped body, with projection on l. Concave top with two small orifices; blunt nozzle with slightly concave sides. Buff clay, with traces of brown glaze; surface much burnt and scaling. L. .089; h. .04.

11 (Fig. 34, 5). Similar style, with plain, slightly concave top with one small orifice; projection on l. Buff clay, orange-red glaze. Nozzle broken. L. .07; h. .03.

12 (Fig. 34, 2). 'Delphiniform' type, with fin-like projection on l., and broad flat-ended nozzle.<sup>1</sup> Plain concave top with small orifice. Rows of raised dots or beads round the body, above and below, continuing across the base of the nozzle, on which are two dots. Buff clay, with dark red glaze, much damaged. Handle broken away. L. .096.

13. Similar, but on a larger scale; a single raised moulding round the orifice. Nozzle broken off short, but at point of fracture pierced with a round-ended slot; handle and projection on l. broken off. Diam. .07. On base, five tiny circles arranged in a *quincunx*, impressed before baking.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In style resembles *B.M. Lamps*, 320, which has, however, a more ornate nozzle, and the dots are interrupted by it: also apparently no dots on lower part of body.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the *N* accompanied by beads incised on the base of No.

74 below, and of *B.M. Lamps*, 320. It is not safe to infer that all these come from the same workshop, as No. 74 belongs to a much later type.

14 (Fig. 34, 12). Clay filler for lamp,<sup>1</sup> in form of a bowl on a ring foot, with convex top and central orifice; tapering spout with small opening, and band handle. Brown glaze, in good condition. H. .072.

## II. ROMAN LAMPS (Figs. 34, 7-11, 13, 14, and 35).

### (1) *Modelled in Various Forms* (15-19).

15 (Fig. 1, 7). In form of a bull's head with short horns; two nozzles, projecting in front of the muzzle, and orifice in forehead. Carefully rendered details of hair on forehead and wrinkled skin on nose. Ring handle, above which is broken base of a crescent-shaped attachment. Buff clay, of reddish-brown slip. L. .125. No. 426 in B.M. is very similar, but a shade larger, and has a different handle-attachment.

16. Fragment from top of a similar lamp, with fillet across forehead. Nozzles lacking. L. .06.

17. Another similar fragment, of a different type, the eye being rendered with a series of dots. L. .07.

18 (Fig. 34, 8). In form of a human right foot, wearing a sandal; the sole is indicated round the toes, and it is fastened with a single thong passing round the ankle and between the great and second toes, where there is a stud. The nozzle which projected from the great toe is broken off, as is the handle with its ornamental projection. Orifice in top of foot. Brownish glaze in good condition. L. .112. Cf. an almost identically modelled left foot, from the Cyrenaica, in *B.M. Lamps*, 419, and Pl. XIII.

19 (Fig. 34, 9). In form of a seated figure, perhaps intentionally grotesque, with negroid features; the lower portion is not clearly modelled, and perhaps the projecting nozzle is meant as his

*phallus*. He apparently holds a tablet on his knees, on which is an obscure incised inscription, broken above (see below, No. 20). A small ring handle at the back of his neck, and an orifice in his lap. Pinkish clay, unglazed. H. .082.<sup>2</sup>

### (2) *Miscellaneous (mostly early) Varieties* <sup>3</sup> (20-32).

20 (Fig. 35, 15). Form 60 (variety). Lamp with plain, slightly concave circular top surrounded with three moulded grooves; five round-ended nozzles, of which one is broken off, and attachment above handle in form of a leaf with central rib, curling outwards at the top. Buff clay, good red glaze. L. .11. Cf. *B.M. Lamps*, 458 (Pl. XIV.), which, however, has volutes between the nozzles. On the base is the stamp *C. Oppi Res(tituti)*, for which see below, No. 12.

21. Fragment from ornate type with two nozzles. Sunk centre enclosed in a broad moulding; the top has between the nozzles an object like a large raspberry, from each end of which project three stalks, the central one ending in a bud and two dart-shaped leaves flanking it. Towards the sides are the heads of two pelicans (?) facing outwards; that on r. has a small object in its bill. Pink clay, unglazed. .055 x .10.

22 (Fig. 34, 11). Deep bowl-shaped, circular, with plain raised rim; orifice and wick hole are both enclosed within this rim; the top is slightly convex; plain foot. Buff clay with light green vitreous glaze, which is well preserved only on the top. H. .043; diam. below, .037, above, .062. Presumably a lamp and not an ink-pot,<sup>4</sup> but I cannot find this type elsewhere.

23 (Fig. 34, 10). Similar style, but less deep; rounded nozzle projects beyond raised rim, and a plain projection at the opposite end; vertical handle in centre of flat top, and orifice at one end of top. Buff clay. L. .11. Somewhat as Form 63; the central handle seems a very rare feature.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *B.M. Lamps*, 1438-1442, and Fig. 346, which has, however, painted ornament in r.f. technique, and a different profile of base.

<sup>2</sup> I cannot trace an exact parallel. *B.M. Lamps*, 406 has the form of a squatting child, with the nozzle on the projecting top

of the base on which he sits. Possibly both are of Egyptian fabric, as this specimen is from Naukratis.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *B.M. Lamps*, 443 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Traces of burning in the wick-hole seem conclusive proof of this.

24 (Fig. 34, 13). Form 70. Broad 'fan-tail' nozzle, with uncertain moulding at point of junction with body; sunk centre, undecorated, with one groove round it, and flat vertical handle, pierced horizontally. Buff clay, unglazed. L. .08.

25. Similar to the last in every respect, but

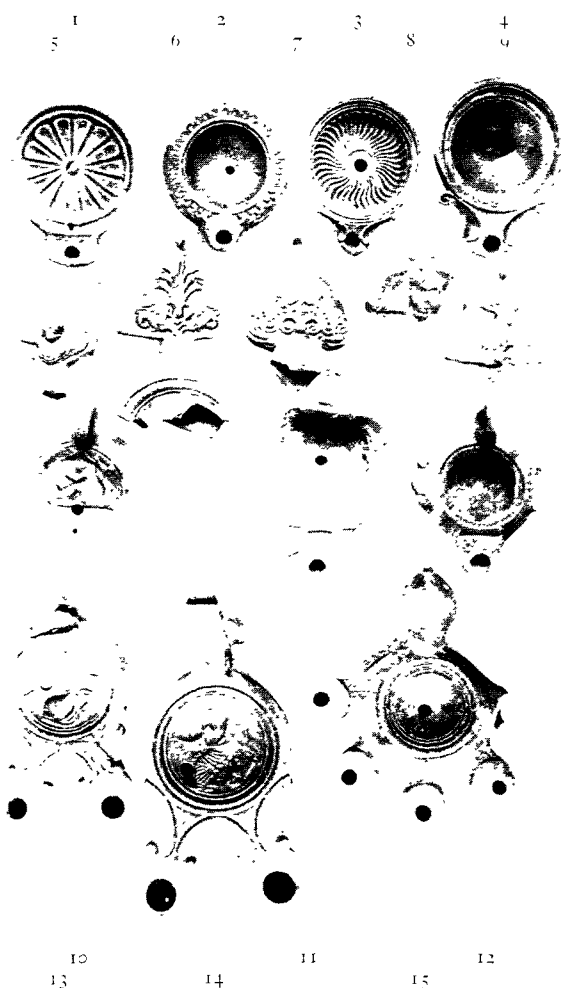


FIG. 35. ROMAN LAMPS. (Scale 1 : 5.)

that it has five parallel grooves at point of junction of nozzle and body, and the centre is less depressed. L. .08. *B.M. Lamps*, 500 seems almost identical (but lacks the centre of the top).

26. Similar to the last. L. .08.

27. Similar to Nos. 25 and 26, but nozzle broken.

28 (Fig. 35, 11). Similar style, but body is

more circular, and the nozzle is more pointed and is moulded with an incipient volute design. Plain, slightly depressed centre. Buff clay, with poor red-brown glaze. L. .113. This interesting example is clearly a transitional type between the plain blunt nozzle of Form 70 and that with the fully developed volutes and broad, pointed nozzle of Form 78 or 80. Stamped on base *Successi*; see below, No. 17.

29 (Fig. 35, 1). Form 73 (variety). Circular body, with broad convex nozzle, with two small dotted circles at its base. Slightly depressed centre with rosette-of-fifteen surrounded with a continuous beading. Orifice in centre and smaller hole in beading at base of nozzle. Top alone is preserved. No handles. Buff clay, red glaze, scaling off. Diam. .083.

30. Form 73. Circular body with two rectangular ear-handles at the sides. Plain flat centre surrounded with continuous coarse beading. Broad convex nozzle, with incipient volute design. Pink-buff clay, unglazed and damaged. Diam. .074. Stamped on base *M. Voltiliu[s]*; see below, No. 18.

31. Form 74 (?). Fragment of top and base of nozzle. Slightly sunk centre, enclosed with continuous beaded rim, on which is pattern of vine shoots with tendrils, leaves and bunches of grapes. Orifice in centre, and a smaller hole (.006 in diam.) towards nozzle. Flat-topped nozzle of unknown length with three small impressed circles at its base. Pink clay, with good lustrous coral-red glaze. Orig. diam. .09.

(3) *With nozzles decorated with volutes.*

(a) *Blunt or pointed,<sup>1</sup> without handle.*

32 (Fig. 35, 4). Form 78. Plain top with concave centre within a moulded rim. Central orifice and small secondary hole at base of nozzle, which is broad and convex. Light red glaze, burnt, small hole broken in top. L. .105; diam. .078.

<sup>1</sup> As *B.M. Lamps*, 530 ff.

33. Similar, but with shorter volutes and more pointed nozzle. Plain top. Dark red glaze, much corroded; small hole broken in top. L. .096; diam. .068.

34. Nozzle and part of moulded rim only, from similar lamp, with small secondary hole at base of nozzle, which is broad and convex. L. .035.

(b) *Rounded nozzle,<sup>1</sup> without handle.*

35. Form 81. Plain top, with concave centre within a moulded rim, of which the innermost bead is a chain-pattern. Central orifice and small secondary hole within rim, towards the nozzle, which is rounded. Beaded moulding for foot. Good thin fabric, dull red glaze. L. .082; diam. .061.

36 (Fig. b, 3). Similar, but with poorly moulded volutes, and waved radial flutings on top, within moulded rim. Holes as the last. Poor red glaze. L. .094; diam. .074.

37 (*B.M. Lamps*, 745 = Fig. 134). Similar. Within a moulded rim, Centaur to r., looking round, carrying off a woman with l. arm round her waist; in r. hand he brandishes a *thyrsus*. The woman sits sideways on his back, with r. hand on his hind-quarters; she is partially draped, and in l. hand she holds up a large disc or *tympanum*. Underneath is a stamp in the shape of a foot, over which is +. Nozzle and nearly half of lamp missing. Diam. .086.

38. Similar, with plain top within a moulded rim. Secondary hole in form of a short slot at base of nozzle. End of nozzle missing, but short distance between volutes indicates rounded, not blunt type. Poor red glaze. Diam. .065.

39. Similar. Beaded rim, and moulding round centre, of which outer band is a hatched wreath. Bottom, and most of nozzle missing; but it was apparently rounded. Red glaze, much encrusted. Diam. .072.

40. Similar, with beaded rim and plain bead-moulding round centre. Small secondary hole

within rim, scarcely pierced through. Put together from three fragments, and lacks nozzle and two small pieces. Poor brown glaze. Diam. .075. On the base, in relief, is 6; see below, No. 19.

41. Similar (?). Within beaded rim is a winged gryphon, with curly tail, leaping to r., as *B.M.* No. 748. Part of top and one volute only, nozzle otherwise missing. Traces of brown glaze. Diam. .067.

(c) *Rounded nozzle, with handle.<sup>2</sup>*

42. Form 84, but with crescent-shaped attachment to handle as on Form 88. Within a rim moulded with one deep groove, bust of Zeus, to the front, wearing chiton; hair and beard rendered with a few bold incisions. In front of him is an eagle to the front, looking to l., with wings spread, standing on a conventional thunderbolt (?). Orifice to l. of centre, under eagle's wing. Poor and coarse, but bold modelling. Deep red glaze. Nozzle broken off at base; one point of the crescent and most of the body of the lamp are missing. Diam. .073. *B.M.* No. 751 (= Fig. 138) is a less crude version of the same subject, of which No. 52 below gives another variant.

43 (Fig. 34, 14). Form uncertain, but the base of a nozzle-volute and traces of a handle are preserved. Fragment comprising less than half of a 'New Year's greeting' lamp, almost as *B.M.* No. 780.<sup>3</sup> Of the figure of Victory only the draped r. arm and shield are preserved; the latter is inscribed *Annum no(v)um (f)au'stum (f)el icem mi(hi) h(i)c*,<sup>4</sup> and there is apparently a streamer of ribbon hanging from it. In the field above are a long oval stippled object and a smaller leaf-shaped object; below are two coins, on one of which are two clasped hands with a caduceus behind, and on the other (perhaps) a winged female figure (Victory?), and an uncertain object, possibly a cake or sweetmeat. Outside the moulded rim which surrounds this scene is a row of stamped heart (or leaf?) pattern, with one plain ovolo at

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *op. cit.* 628 ff.

<sup>2</sup> As *B.M. Lamps*, 751 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See bibliography of these lamps *ad loc.*

<sup>4</sup> See below, inscription No. 21, and Fig. 36, 3.



the point next to the volute. Crisp impression, on firm unglazed drab clay. L. .122; orig. diam. *ca.* .12. *B.M.* No. 780 differs in several minor points, *e.g.* the outer moulding, the wording of the greeting, and the absence of streamers from the shield and of drapery from the r. arm of Victory.

44 (*B.M.* No. 774 = Fig. 143). Form 84 (?). Within a moulded rim, rabbit to r., nibbling at a bunch of grapes on a stem with leaves. Nozzle and handle broken; bottom of lamp also wanting. Brown glaze. Diam. .073.

45. Small fragment from base or nozzle with remains of volutes at sides, and of moulded rim round top of lamp. Small secondary hole at base of nozzle. Broken on all sides; red glaze. .045 × .04.

46. Large lamp of Form 87. Laurel-wreath, tied at point nearest to handle, within a moulded rim; moulding around central orifice. Large triangular attachment on handle (.10 high, .106 across base), on which is a seven-lobed palmette with acanthus leaf motive as a base. Nozzle is broken off near the extremity, and handle-attachment chipped. Good dull red glaze. L. (to back of handle) .22; diam. .125. Cf. *B.M.* No. 814 (and Pl. XXVI.), but that has a less ornate laurel-wreath.

47. Similar, but smaller size. Within a moulded rim, eagle with head to r., standing with wings closed. Small secondary hole at base of nozzle. Handle broken and attachment missing; nozzle broken off short. Fair red glaze. Diam. .081. Below is a sunk stamp in the shape of a foot, uninscribed.

(d) *Similar, but with two nozzles.*

48 (Fig. 35, 14). Form 89. Within a moulded rim a draped female figure seated to l. on a chair with turned legs. She holds a small round object (a bun or a patera?) in her r. hand and a *cornucopiae* against her l. shoulder, and wears a helmet. Beside her chair is an eagle (surely not meant for Athena's owl?). Triangular handle-attachment, on which is a palmette, broken and

re-attached. Fair red glaze. L. (to back of handle) .18; diam. .091.

49 (*B.M.* No. 827 = Fig. 151). Similar (?). Within a moulded rim, Artemis moving to r., with bow in outstretched l. hand; she wears a short girt chiton which floats behind her, and high boots. Handle and nozzles broken, and attachment from handle missing. Red glaze. L. .172; diam. .092. Underneath is inscribed in raised letters .S.Λ.X.; see below, No. 2.

50. Form 88. Within a moulded rim. Fortune seated to l., holding steering-oar in r. and cornucopiae in l., as *B.M.* No. 756 (Pl. XXI). Handle with crescent-shaped attachment, in which a smaller crescent-shaped space is countersunk, with a small impressed circle in the centre and at each point. L. nozzle and part of l. side missing. Poor red glaze. L. .17; diam. *ca.* .10.

51 (Fig. 35, 13). Form 89. Within a moulded rim bust of youthful Bacchus(?) to l., wreathed with ivy, and wearing himation over l. shoulder; the ends of a fillet float outwards from behind his head. In front is an uncertain object, perhaps a torch-holder. Broken and mended, but lacks handle. Red glaze. L. .15; diam. .083. Stamped below *C. Oppi. Res*; see below, No. 13.

52. Similar (?). Within a moulded rim with band of chevrons, Zeus and eagle; not quite as No. 42, as Zeus holds sceptre in l., as on *B.M.* No. 824 (Fig. 149); he is apparently not draped, but the worn surface makes this doubtful. Handle-attachment and both nozzles lacking. In front, at base of handle, bearded head to l. Red glaze, burnt and rubbed. Diam. .07.

53. Similar (?). Within a moulded rim bust of Selene (Luna) to front, with hair parted and waved, and crescent on her head; drapery on shoulders. Cf. *B.M.* No. 618, and for a variant with crescent behind shoulders *B.M.* No. 1206 (and Pl. XXXIV.). Handle and part of body including most of both nozzles lacking. Red glaze. Diam. .072.

54. Similar (?). Within a moulded rim Victory standing to front, holding wreath in r. and palm in l. Half of the lamp is lacking, as are

the nozzles and handle-attachment. Poor red glaze. Diam. *ca.* .09.

55. Form 89. Within a moulded rim a rosette-of-twelve. Triangular handle-attachment, on which is a palmette in relief with two dolphins below.<sup>1</sup> Both nozzles and part of one side are lacking. Dull red glaze. Diam. .077. Stamped on the base *in planta pedis* is *Myro*; see below, No. 10.

56. Similar. Within a moulded rim is a plain top, with smaller moulding round the central orifice. On the triangular handle-attachment (.084 high, .09 across the base) are a palmette and dolphins, of better style than on No. 55. Nozzle on l. missing, that on r. broken off short at outer end of volutes. Fair red glaze, discoloured and rubbed. Diam. .105.

(e) *Fragments from handles (mostly of Forms 87-89).*

57 (Fig. b, 6). Triangular attachment with small knob at apex, complete with handle and a small portion of the rim of a lamp; of the central design the head and top of a wing of an eagle to r. are preserved. On the attachment is a palmette with two sea-horses below, as *B.M.* No. 880 (= Fig. 174). Drab clay with brown glaze. H. .065, breadth at base .073.

58. Similar; attachment only, and part of broken handle. Identical design; broken on r.

59 (Fig. 35, 9). Similar piece, but attachment only is preserved. Victory in relief standing to l. with both feet on a globe; she wears a long chiton with *apophrygma*, and holds a wreath in r. hand and palm-branch in l.<sup>2</sup> Red glaze. H. .06; br. .072.

60. Similar piece, broken on l. Roughly modelled palmette with acanthus foliage below, as on No. 47. Dull red glaze; broken on l. H. .056.

61 (Fig. 35, 7). Handle with attachment like a bellows or pear-shaped leaf, as *B.M.* Nos. 868, 870, with front surface slightly convex, on which is a palmette rising from an elaborate scroll pattern

(cf. *B.M.* No. 882). Red glaze. H. .072; br. .065.

62 (Fig. 35, 5). Part of handle, and crescent-shaped attachment, of which one point is broken off. Bust of Zeus in relief, with drapery over chest and l. upper arm; his head is turned slightly towards the r., and he holds up a thunder-bolt in r. and a dart or sceptre in l. Drab clay, unglazed. H. .075; br. .061.

63. Handle, with similar, but larger, attachment, with small crescent-shaped panel counter-sunk. On it is an eagle standing with spread wings, and head to r. Poor style, but good well-worked clay. H. .097; br. .074.

64. Part of handle, and attachment in form of an eagle, standing with wings closed and head to its r., on a globe. (Cf. a similar handle, but eagle is turned to its l., *B.M.* No. 886 (= Fig. 177)). Traces of brown glaze. H. .055.

65 (a, b, c). Three similar eagles, two with complete and one with broken handles. Better modelling of feathers, back and front, and heads less raised than on No. 64. Much encrusted, but remains of brownish-yellow glaze. H. .055. Clearly all three are from the same mould.

(f) *Fragments probably from types with volutes at nozzle.*

66. Within a moulded rim, Victory standing to l., holding palm-branch in l. hand. As a large piece of the top is lost it is uncertain what she holds in r., but perhaps a shield with New Year greetings, as on No. 43 above, for in the field behind her are a coin with two-headed Janus type and a leaf-shaped object beneath it, as on *B.M.* No. 780. This is not quite in the same style as the *B.M.* example (nor as No. 43 above), as she here wears long chiton and himation, and the skirt of the former is differently cut. Poor red glaze. Diam. *ca.* .10.

67. Fragment comprising less than half of the top of a lamp. Within a moulded rim, frieze of gladiatorial armour, comprising a pair of greaves,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *C.I.L.* xv. 2, Form 12.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *B.M.* No. 872, which is a similar figure standing to the front.

helmet with crest, 'fore and aft' peaks and cheek-pieces, and a *scutum*. For a complete example, cf. *B.M.* Nos. 670, 838. Dark red glaze. Diam. ca. .085.

68. Fragment from the top only (almost half). Within a moulded rim, eagle perched on bough with head turned to l., holding a wreath in its beak. Outside the beading are the long oval object, as well as the leaf-shaped cakes (?) which appear as *strenae* on the New Year's Greeting lamps, cf. Nos. 43 and 66 above. Poor red glaze, surface damaged. Orig. diam. ca. .12.

69. Fragment comprising about three-quarters of the top only. Within a moulded rim, male figure wearing short chiton (or loin-cloth?) standing to r., with r. hand raised to head; in his l. is a long curved staff (nearly as tall as himself), and to r. is a terminal figure. This type is not in the British Museum.<sup>1</sup> Remains of brown glaze. Diam. .078.

70. Similar fragment. Within a moulded rim, of which the inner border has a scalloped edge, conventional design of two palmettes and two acanthus plants respectively opposite each other and pointing outward, with central orifice. Thin fabric, drab clay, remains of brown glaze. Orig. diam. .07.

71. Fragment comprising about one-third of the top only. Remains, within a moulded rim, of a frieze of sea-creatures: to r., sea-horse, then a nautilus (?), then a dolphin (mostly lacking) facing to l. Thin fabric, dark brown glaze. Orig. diam. ca. .08.


72. Fragment of top and nozzle; about a quarter is missing from the top. Within a moulded rim plain centre, with narrow groove leading to nozzle. In place of the volute on r. of nozzle is a moulding suggesting the head and neck of a crane (?).<sup>2</sup> Red glaze. Diam. .057.

(4) *Type with Depressed Centre and Long Nozzle*.<sup>3</sup>

73. Form 94 (?). Small fragment from top only, with plain raised rim continuing across base of nozzle; in high relief is a comic mask, with huge mouth, stippled hair, and beard represented as a semicircular band of chevrons. Dull red glaze. .046 x .034.

(5) *Types with Plain Nozzle and Handle*.<sup>4</sup>

(a) *With groove at base of nozzle*.

74. Form 95. Within a moulding, Hercules in the garden of the Hesperides. He stands to the front with l. leg advanced and r. bent, and with r. hand holds a club above his head, in act of striking at a serpent, twisted round his l. foot and held in his l. hand. He wears lion-skin knotted round his neck. On r. is the tree with the golden apples. For type cf. *B.M.* No. 655.<sup>5</sup> Coarse modelling, from worn mould. Red glaze. L. .106; diam. .072. On base, scratched before baking, is ; see below, No. 11.

75. Similar, but nozzle broken off short. Cock walking to l. with uncertain object behind, almost as *C.I.L.* xv. 2, 6593, 75. Poor brown-red glaze. L. .09; diam. .068. On base, *C. Oppi. Res*; see below, No. 16.

76. Similar. Plain top. Brownish-red glaze. L. .103; diam. .072. On base, *Mun. Trept.*, with an impressed circle above and below; see below, No. 8.

77. Similar, but with two small raised knobs, square in section, on the rim, as *B.M.* No. 982 (Pl. XXIX.). On the top, which is pronouncedly sunk in the centre, two Lares on pedestals;<sup>6</sup> each has one foot drawn back, and pours a libation from a drinking horn in uplifted hand; they wear short chitons and chlamydes. Piece missing from centre and surface much encrusted. Remains of brown glaze. L. .128;

<sup>1</sup> Subject uncertain. The same type occurs on a lamp, with heart-shaped nozzle, in Rome (Musco delle Terme, No. 68).

<sup>2</sup> No parallel in *B.M. Lamps*.

<sup>3</sup> As *op. cit.* 887 ff.

<sup>4</sup> As *op. cit.* 942 ff.

<sup>5</sup> = Pl. XXII.; for the same motive as a design on South Gaulish *Terra Sigillata*, cf. Déchelette, *op. cit.* No. 468; Knorr, *Topfer und Fabriken verzierter Terra-Sigillata des ersten Jahrhunderts*, p. 33 f., Pl. 16 (19), and 57 (2).

<sup>6</sup> For the design cf. *B.M.* Nos. 508 (= Fig. 93), 543, 1064.

diam. .093. On base, *Bassa*; see below, No. 3.

78 (Fig. 35, 12). Similar, but with two solid scroll-shaped handles at sides, in addition to grooved ring-handle, apparently an unusual feature in lamps with this type of nozzle.<sup>1</sup> Top all lacking. Deep red glaze. L. .106; diam. .072. On base, *C. Oppi. Res*; see below, No. 14.

(b) *With Plain Nozzle.*

79. Form 95, but with shallow groove leading from centre to nozzle. Plain top, with grooved ring-handle. Brown glaze, much rubbed and encrusted; small hole in bottom, and no stamp visible. L. .108; diam. .075.

80. Form 95 (?). Plain top, with grooved ring-handle. Part of top and most of nozzle broken away. Deep red glaze. L. .10; diam. .066. On base, *Mun. Trept*; see below, No. 9.

81 (Fig. 35, 2). Variant of Form 103 (?). Plain top, within a beaded moulding, outside which is a band of ovolo pattern, as e.g. *B.M.* No. 1059. No handle, and small groove leads from centre to nozzle. Central orifice and small secondary hole at inner end of this groove. Good, well-finished work, with fine red glaze. L. .09; diam. .078. No stamp.

(6) *With Heart-shaped Nozzle.*

82 (Fig. 35, 10). Form 100. Within a beaded moulding, a bearded and bald man seated to l. on a rock, holding a rectangular object in his l. with a table (or anvil?) in front of him. Behind him is a tree which curves over so as to shelter him. Perhaps Hephaestus making the armour of Achilles (?). Small secondary hole in direction of nozzle, which is broken off short. Buff clay, with surface cracked and burnt, but good work and unworn mould. L. .105; diam. .085. Below, plain foot-shaped stamp, apparently un-inscribed.

83. Similar. Within a beaded moulding, Artemis standing to front, holding bow in l. and

taking arrow from quiver with r.; she wears short girt chiton with *apoptygma*, and high boots. To r. is a hound running r., and a stag with back-turned head flees to l. (or is it lying dead?). Handle broken off; indistinct work, dull drab clay, unglazed. L. .088; diam. .065. Orifice on l. Beneath, *Florent*; see below, No. 6. A lamp of similar style and type bearing the same stamp, shows Artemis moving to r., without the stag. Cf. *B.M.* No. 1111 (= *C.I.L.* xv. 2, 6445, + (b)).

84. Similar in style and fabric to the last. Lion moving to r. Drab clay, surface rubbed and pitted. L. .09; diam. .063. Beneath, inverted, is *Eraclid*, with two impressed dots, above and below; see below, No. 5.

85. Form 101. Within a moulded ring, surrounded on the rim with a wreath tied at intervals (cf. *B.M.* No. 1189=Fig. 252), a figure seated to l. Very faint and indistinct, but it seems to be holding a rod: possibly Fortune seated, as on No. 51 above, but no *cornucopiae* is visible. Remains of poor red glaze. L. .091; br. .063. No stamp.

86. Variant of the above, with two scroll-shaped handles at sides in addition to grooved ring-handle (cf. No. 78 above). Within a moulded ring, two wreaths flanked with two palms of which the points reach towards the handle. Remains of red glaze, surface much corroded. L. .115; diam. .08. Below, *C. Oppi. Res.*; see below, No. 15.

(7) *Miscellaneous, including Fragments of Lamps of Uncertain Shape.*

87. Form 102. Plain straight-sided nozzle, grooved ring-handle, and two raised projections at sides, with four small impressed circles, one at each corner of each projection. Design of top missing. Good red glaze. L. .103; diam. .082. Below, *Clo-Heli*, beneath, a leaf raised. Sharp impression and well-formed letters. This is a clear exception to Walters's statement (*B.M.*

<sup>1</sup> They occur on the blunt-nozzled types (Forms 72-74), cf. esp. *B.M.* No. 509.

*Lamps*, Introd., p. xxv.) that this type (*op. cit.* 1204-1233) 'appears to be peculiar to Greek sites.' Though the great majority of known examples have been found on Greek sites, or bear inscriptions in Greek, our present example is clearly of Italian origin, and the maker Clo(dius) Heli(odori?) signs three other lamps of equally Italian type, in the *B.M.*, Nos. 947, 997,<sup>1</sup> 1077. See below, No. 4.

88. Form doubtful. Nozzle and piece of top missing; grooved ring-handle. Within a moulded ring, Victory standing to l. holding wreath in outstretched r. hand, and palm in left. She wears chiton with *apoptygma*, and himation, of which a fold hangs from her r. arm. Centre pronouncedly depressed; the details have been worked over after moulding, and ribbons attached to the wreath are incised. Drab clay, unglazed. L. .105; diam. .078. Below, *L. Mun. Suc.*; see below, No. 7.

89. Form doubtful. Handle and part of top, on which within a moulded ring is a figure of Fortune (?) to the front, holding *cornucopiae* in l., and perhaps steering-oar in r. (only the top is preserved); she wears chiton with *apoptygma*. Fair red glaze. Diam. ca. .09.

90. Form doubtful. Within a moulded ring, bust of Helios facing, with bushy hair, and five rays springing from his head; his drapery is represented crudely as arcading. Cf. a somewhat similar motive, but undraped, with seven rays, *B.M.* No. 829. Handle broken, nozzle and large piece of body missing; broken through and mended. Poor work, remains of red glaze. Diam. .065.

91. Handle and top of a lamp of Form 100 (?) Within a moulded ring, around which is an impressed ovolo-frieze, nude male figure advancing to r., holding a long object transversely in both hands. Possibly Eros with a torch (?). Drab clay, surface much rubbed. Diam. .066.

92 (*B.M.* No. 1362 = Fig. 309). Fragment forming the top of a lamp. Within a band of cable-pattern, Athena advancing to r., with spear

couched in r. hand and small shield on l. arm; she wears crested helmet and long girt chiton with *apoptygma*; in front of her is a serpent rearing up. Rude late work, burnt black. Diam. .07.

93. Fragment comprising about half a lamp (perhaps of Form 76); handle lacking and nozzle broken off short. Within a moulded rim. Circular altar with side-columns and conical top, inverted; to r. a dolphin head downwards, beyond this uncertain objects, of which one is perhaps a second altar; through it the orifice has been cut. Similar types are *B.M.* Nos. 520, 525 (= Fig. 99), but not identical. Small impressed circle at base of nozzle on r. (probably corresponding one, on l., lost). Pink clay, with rubbed surface. Diam. .063. On base a *quincunx* of five small impressed circles, as on *B.M.* Nos. 520 and 525.

94. Fragment from side and top (perhaps from Form 73 or 74), including one side-handle with incised marking. Within a moulded rim, dolphin, with head towards nozzle. Light buff clay, with thick, deep red glaze. Orig. diam. .066.

95 (Fig. 35, 8). Fragment from side and top, perhaps of similar type to the last, with side-handle. Within a moulded rim, comic mask with swollen cheeks, and wig with three ribs of hair; the chin points towards the centre of the lamp. Greyish-buff clay, with dull red glaze. Diam. ca. .075.

96. Fragment from end and top of a lamp apparently oval or boat-shaped; on the flat top at the end is a comic mask in relief, with beard, resembling that on No. 73 above.<sup>1</sup> Drab clay, remains of poor red glaze. .066 × .027.

97. Small fragment from top. Within a moulded rim *biga* galloping to l., perhaps similar to *B.M.* No. 563. The heads and forequarters of the horses are alone preserved. Dark red glaze. .06 × .038.

98. Fragment from top of a large lamp, perhaps of abnormal design.<sup>2</sup> To l. elaborate acanthus plant, and traces of corresponding one on r.; between them bust of uncertain figure

<sup>1</sup> Wrongly indexed, *op. cit.* p. 239, as 977; and see p. 124, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> Nothing similar in *B.M. Lamps*.

(possibly Eros?), with hair done in a peak on top; features rubbed. Remains of red-brown glaze. .07 × .067; broken on all sides. If circular the top must have been quite .15 in diameter.

### III. INSCRIPTIONS ON LAMPS.

#### (a) Makers' Names or Symbols, on Base.

1. On No. 7: Monogram consisting of Π, υ, ϕ (Fig. 36, 1); perhaps capable of being expanded as Πορφύρι, *vel sim.* Apparently not known elsewhere.<sup>1</sup>

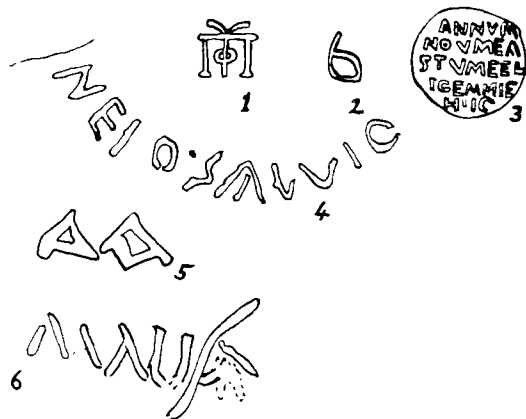


FIG. 36. MISCELLANEOUS INSCRIPTIONS ON LAMPS, TERRACOTTAS, FIG. (Scale 1:1½.)

2. On No. 49: S·A·X· S(*exti*) A(*ureli*) X(*anthi*). B.M. No. 827 = C.I.L. xv. 2, 6268.

3. On No. 77: BASSA Bassa (?). C.I.L. xv. 2, 6337a.

4. On No. 87: CLO-HELI Clo(*di*) Heli- (leaf) (*odori*).<sup>2</sup> C.I.L. xi. 2, 6699(53); xv. 2, 6376a.

5. On No. 84: RACLID Eraclid(*is*). C.I.L. xv. 2, 6416.

6. On No. 83: FLORENT Florent(*i*). C.I.L. x. 8053(81); xi. 2, 6699(85); xv. 2, 6445b.

7. On No. 88: LMVNSVC L. Mun(*ati*) Suc(*cessi*).<sup>3</sup> C.I.L. xi. 2, 6699(134); xv. 2, 6564d.

8. On No. 76: MVNTREPT (L.) Mun(*ati*) T(h)rept(*i*). C.I.L. xv. 2, 6565f.<sup>4</sup>

9. On No. 80: MVNTREPT (L.) Mun(*ati*) T(h)rept(*i*). C.I.L. xv. 2, 6565e.

10. On No. 55: MYRO (in planta pedis) Myro(*nis*?). C.I.L. xv. 2, 6567a.

11. On No. 74: <sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>o</sup> N (?). C.I.L. xv. 2, 6569e.

12. On No. 20: C·OPPI·RES· C. Oppi Res(*tituti*). C.I.L. xi. 2, 6699(148); xv. 2, 6593a.

13. On No. 51: C·OPPI·RES· C. Oppi Res(*tituti*). C.I.L. xi. 2, 6699(148); xv. 2, 6593a.

14. On No. 78: C·OPPI·RES· C. Oppi Res(*tituti*). C.I.L. xi. 2, 6699(148); xv. 2, 6593a.

15. On No. 86: C·OPPI·RES· C. Oppi Res(*tituti*). C.I.L. xi. 2, 6699(148); xv. 2, 6593a.

16. On No. 75: C OPPI RES C. Oppi Res(*tituti*). C.I.L. xv. 2, 6593e.<sup>5</sup>

17. On No. 28: SVCCCESSI Successi. C.I.L. xv. 2, 6697d.

18. On No. 30: <sup>M</sup>VOLTILIV M. Voltiliu(*s*). C.I.L. xv. 2, 6746.<sup>6</sup>

19. On No. 40: 6 (in relief) (?). Perhaps C.I.L. xv. 2, 6342a.

#### (b) Miscellaneous.

20. On No. 19: <sup>IL</sup> LIII·C <sup>—</sup> L·PO (?) Un- <sup>—</sup> IIVVGRI ··NIGRI known elsewhere.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Not to be confused with C.I.L. xv. 2, 6893.

<sup>2</sup> This cannot be *Clodius Helvetius*' stamp, though a similar one (B.M. No. 997) is ascribed to him, *op. cit.* p. xxxviii, but rightly given to *Heliodorus* in the text (and misprinted 977 in the Index).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. No. 17.

<sup>4</sup> This variety with a small circle above and below is not given in C.I.L.; the type cited has a small leaf (?) below only.

<sup>5</sup> Much rubbed, but apparently without the stops which appear in Nos. 12-15.

<sup>6</sup> The M above the name is roughly scratched, not moulded. The inscription is surrounded with six small impressed circles, equidistant, and seems to prove that C.I.L. xv. 2, 6896, classed as *Graece inscripta*, and read as Σ, with similar small circles, should perhaps be read as M and connected with the present type.

<sup>7</sup> Quite unintelligible; perhaps a jesting allusion to the subject . . . nigri (?).

21. On No. 44: (Cf. Fig. 3, 3.) *C.I.L.*  
xv. 2, 6196.<sup>1</sup>

*Annum*  
*No(v)uu f.a(u)-*  
*stum f.el-*  
*icem mi(hi)*  
(5) *h(i)c(?)*.

The following have dots, or tiny circles in a group of 5, impressed on the base: Nos. 13, 93; a plain foot (uninscribed) is stamped on Nos. 47 and 82; and a similar foot, with + below, on No. 37.

## METAL OBJECTS.

### (1) BRONZE.

#### (a) Jewellery, articles of dress, etc.

The following, except No. 3, are all at Leeds.

1 (Fig. 37, 1). Fibula of 'Aucissa' type, with small knobs at the end of the hinge-pin, and a slightly larger knob at the end of the catch-plate. The bow is almost an exact semicircle, with raised and beaded ribs in centre and at each side. On the plate above the hinge are incised horizontal lines and tiny hatchings or zigzags, and it has a small semicircular indentation at each end; in addition, some faint marks here seem to be the remains of an inscription in raised letters. From the presence of V near the beginning and of S towards the end it is safe to restore them as [A]V[CIS]S[A], far the commonest name on this class of fibulae.<sup>2</sup> L. .048; provided with a modern pin.<sup>3</sup>

2 (Fig. 38). Fibula of similar type, uninscribed.<sup>4</sup> No knob at end of catch-plate, which terminates in a dart-shaped point. On the bow is a central raised rib, with a row of tiny punctuated dots; two shallow holes, not pierced through, on the plate above the hinge. L. .046; pin lacking, and part of hinge broken away.

3 (B.M., *Bronzes*, No. 2101). Fibula of cross-bow type; the bow is sharply curved and ends in a sort of sheath which holds the pin, with a knob at the end. The pin works in a groove in the cross-piece. L. .063.

4. Stud, consisting of a thin bronze disc, tinned on upper surface, with a short projecting shank, and moulded with two concentric rings below. The top is apparently plain, but much obscured with a hard incrustation. Diam. .026.

5. Similar stud with short shank, undecorated. Diam. .021.

6 (a, b). Two similar; (a) is .015 in diam.; (b), with its disc broken, is .013.

7. Similar, with hemispherical head and short shank. Diam. .026.

8. Similar, of minute size. Diam. .009.

9 (Fig. 37). Head of a large pin or stud; hemispherical, with plain surface above and moulded rim below. The top of the shaft is elaborately moulded, in good style; the rest of the pin is lacking. Diam. of head, which is silvered, .041; l. of shank .026. Chip missing from head. Hellenistic work (?).

10. Hemispherical head of stud lacking its

<sup>1</sup> The blundered version suggests an illiterate (or Greek?) workman: l. 2 ends **EA**, l. 3 **EEL**, l. 4 **MIE**, and there are two strokes between **H** and **C** in l. 5. This version tends to support that in *C.I.L.* ii. 4969 (3) where Hubner read **HVC** (= *hunc*) but was over-ruled by Mommsen (cf. *C.I.L.* xv. 2, 6196, note).

<sup>2</sup> For such fibulae see Haverfield's list, *Journal of Arch. Inst.* lx. (1903), pp. 236 ff., and additions, *op. cit.* lxii. (1905), pp. 265 ff.; another inscribed example was found at Wroxeter; cf. *Wroxeter Excavation Report*, i. (1912), p. 24, and Fig. 9, 5. They

would seem (Haverfield, *loc.*) to be of Gaulish origin, and to date from the early Empire, probably the first century.

<sup>3</sup> Inscribed inside the bow, 'Found at Civitalavina, January 17th, 1888.'

<sup>4</sup> Cf. a very similar specimen from Woodeaton in Oxfordshire, *J.R.S.* vii. (1917), p. 111 f., No. 52, Fig. 9. It is hard to believe that these uninscribed examples are not both contemporary with, and from the same centre, or centres, of origin as the inscribed group.

shank, incised with concentric circles. Diam. .031.

11. Two-ended stud, with convex head on which is an incised moulding, and a plain base. H. .014; diam. of head and base .01.

12. Similar type, with plain head. H. .012; diam. of head and base .01.

13. Finger-ring, without bezel, with two plain bead-mouldings. Internal diam. .017.

14. Another, broken, with bronze bezel engraved with uncertain design (perhaps a couchant deer), much obscured by breakage and incrustation; small cross-hatchings on hoop. Internal diam. .019; l. of bezel *ca.* .013.

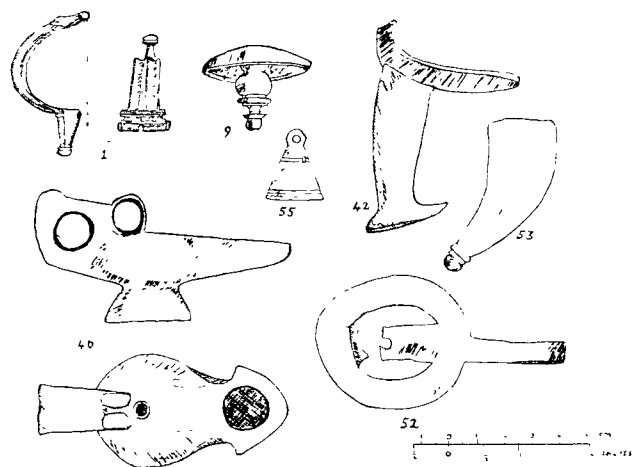


FIG. 37. MISCELLANEOUS BRONZE OBJECTS.

15 (*a, b*). Ring (*a*) of plain wire with twisted overlapping ends; slightly oval; Diam. .022–.024. Ring (*b*) with plain bead-moulding, without bezel. Diam. .022.

16. Smaller ring, plain. Diam. .014.

17 (Fig. 38). Buckle, consisting of two loops of kidney-bean shape, joined by a smaller square piece pierced with three holes. Two of these are for attachment to the belt or strap, and the third holds a swivel-pin. No ornament except for a slight projection with roughly incised hatchings

at the centre of each loop. Traces of gilt all over; back flat. L. .061; h. .04; one end of one loop broken away from central piece.

18. Bracelet of thin wire, twisted together at the ends. Max. diam. .054.

19 (Fig. 38). Bottom (flat) of a pear-shaped seal box,<sup>1</sup> pierced with three holes, and with small slits in each side. Point broken away, and traces of hinge preserved. L. .04; br. .023.

20. Another, convex below, and heart-shaped; three holes and slits at sides. Hinge and a small portion of the top preserved, but no trace of ornament. L. .024; br. .017.

(*b*) *Surgical Instruments,<sup>2</sup> Toilet Objects, etc.*

21 (Fig. 38). Probe, with plain-ended handle, ornamented with turned moulding near the head. The head is oval and slightly concave. L. .158; br. of head .004.

22 (Fig. 38). Probe (?), with plain ends, tapering slightly towards each extremity. Diam. averages .002, but is .003 midway.

23 (Fig. 38). Spatula, with bulb or 'olivary thickening' at handle end and turned moulding near the head, which is of the shape of an elongated spoon. L. .165; l. of head .034; br. .006. (Cf. Caton, *op. cit.*, No. 29; *B.M. Cat.*, 2370.)

24 (Fig. 38). Spatula, with handle similar to the last, and turned moulding near the head, which is flat and slightly concave at the sides. L. .155; l. of head .044; br. .003. (Cf. *B.M. Cat.*, 2344, and Fig. 63.)

25. Spatula (?), with short plain handle ending in a point, and flat blade. L. .063; l. of head .025; br. .005.

26. Scoop or spoon, with plain tubular handle, which is broken through and mended, and lacks its extreme end. The head, which is round, is chipped. L. .088; blade .018 .013.

27. Lancet (?), with handle, ornamented with

on it.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *B.M. Bronzes*, 2225 ff., and refs. *ibid.*; also J. Ward, *The Roman Era in Britain*, pp. 227 f., and Fig. 64. E, F, G, for representative examples found in Britain: *Wroxeter Report*, iii. (1914), pp. 27 ff., and Pl. XVIII., XIX. for further examples, one of which contained the original wax and string-impression

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *B.M. Bronzes*, 2313 ff., and *Intro.* pp. lxiv. f.; J. Milne, *Surgical Instruments in Greek and Roman Times*, *passim*; and the interesting group, from near Kolophon, described by Dr. R. Caton. *J.H.S.* xxxiv. (1914), pp. 114 ff.



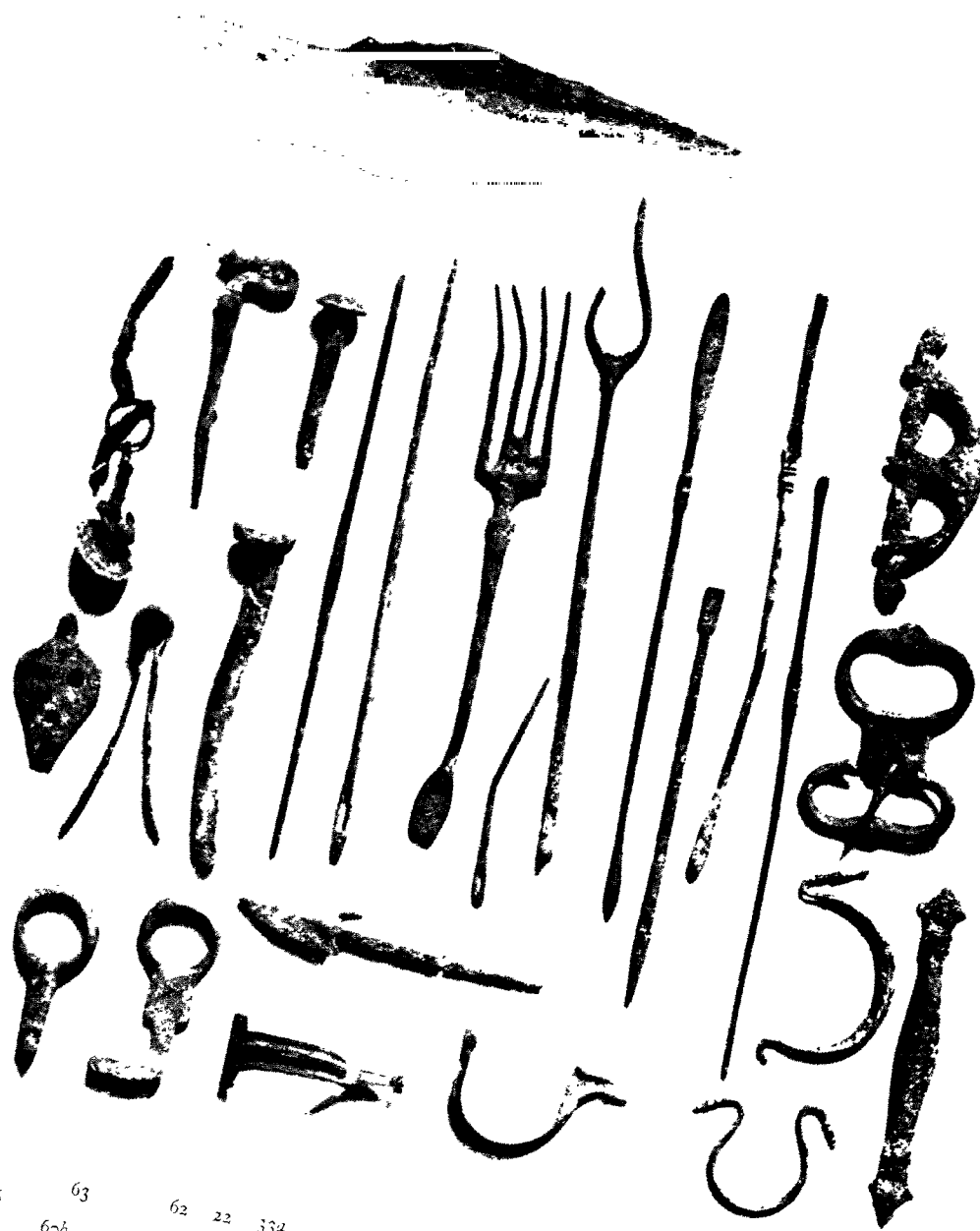


FIG. 38. VARIOUS BRONZE OBJECTS. (Scale 1 : 2.)

turned beading and facetting, which ends in a blunt point; the head is long and pointed.<sup>1</sup> L. .084; l. of head .039.

28. Knife-handle, of spatula or elongated leaf-shape; blade lacking.<sup>2</sup> L. .064; br. .012.

29. Broken point of a narrow tapering shaft; possibly from a catheter, as it shows traces of a gradual curve. L. .067; max. diam. .0025.

30. Uncertain object with head shaped like that of an arrow without barbs, and sharpened at the edges; handle cut in rough facets; turned moulding near the junction with the head, which has apparently been plated with silver. L. .111; l. of head .026; br. .013 at base. (Perhaps a surgical scalpel?)

31 (Fig. 38). Fork or *tenaculum*, with four prongs, and plain handle ending in small spatula. L. .148; l. of head .052.

32 (Fig. 38). Ditto, with two prongs, curving towards each other and slightly diverging near the points; plain handle ending in a ring, which is broken; one point broken off. L. .173; l. of head .045. (Perhaps neither of the last two items was actually for surgical purposes.)<sup>3</sup>

33 (a-c) (Fig. 38). Needle, with one eye .01 long; l. .158; another, with head broken away at eye, l. .118; another, with eye .005 long; l. .064, bent.

34. Pointed object, of uncertain use; towards the other end the shaft is spirally twisted and broken off short. L. .096.

35. Small aryballos with globular body; a small hole on the shoulder probably represents the position of a missing handle; unornamented. H. .065; max. diam. .058.

36 (Fig. 38). Stopper, in form of a disc .02 in diam., pierced with a cylindrical stem .023 long; it is secured by a short length of thin chain to a small ring, from which hang three other short lengths of chain. The disc exactly fits the orifice of the above aryballos, and the chain frag-

ments may have served to carry the latter slung from the girdle, together with other toilet requisites.<sup>4</sup> Cf. the group of two strigils and an aryballos, *B.M. Bronzes*, 2455.

(c) *Vessels, Lamp, etc.*

37. Bucket, circular in section, and curved below, with turned-over lip and traces of attachment for handle close to the rim. The surface is hammered and there is a row of raised knobs near the bottom. H. .245; diam. .225; badly corroded.

38. Bucket with sides narrowing slightly towards the rim, and curved below. The rim, from which rise two plain upright loops originally fitted with a swinging handle, is strengthened with a strip of bronze roughly riveted on. There is a slight 'kick' (.063 in diam.) in the base to steady it when standing. H. .164; diam. between handle-loops .21; distorted and corroded. The shape, especially at the rim, is strongly reminiscent of mediaeval and modern Italian buckets, and this possibly is not of Roman date.

39. Small cylindrical box, for toilet-use. Lightly incised mouldings run round the sides, which are otherwise plain, and the base, which has a projecting moulding, has four concentric counter-sunk grooves on it. H. .058; diam. at base .074. The sides, which are very thin, have decayed into holes in more than one place.

40. Fragments (22 in all) of gilt-bronze strips, presumably from a wooden casket. Most of them are broken, and they represent three distinct widths, .013, .024, and .036; nearly all are pierced for nailing, and gilt-headed nails survive in a few of the holes.

41. Small fragment from the rim of a shallow circular vessel originally *ca.* .18 in diameter, with beaded rim. L. .10; h. .032.

42 (Fig. 37). Foot of a large vessel, consisting of a shaft, .05 long, which is oval in section,

<sup>1</sup> Possibly not for surgical purposes: it is unusually short for a *stylus*.

<sup>2</sup> So-called bistoury: cf. Caton. *op. cit.*, Fig. 1, and *B.M. Bronzes*, 2332 ff. But possibly merely an elaborate spatula.

<sup>3</sup> For two-pronged *tenacula* cf. *B.M. Bronzes*, 2322-6.

<sup>4</sup> Labelled as 'lamp-stopper,' but the purpose here suggested seems much more appropriate. There is no clue to their respective find-spots.

ending above in a flat surface  $\cdot 056 \times \cdot 049$ , of which one straight edge is bent up at right angles, the opposite end being semicircular. The other end of the shaft expands into a flat knob-foot pear-shaped in section,  $\cdot 03$  long. Complete, undecorated, and with no holes for attachment. Possibly one foot of a shallow brazier with three feet.

43 (Fig. 38). Handle, solid, bow-shaped with curled-back ends, and vandyked along the straight edge; pierced with two lunette-shaped cuttings. L.  $\cdot 072$ ; h.  $\cdot 025$ ; th.  $\cdot 007$ .

44 (Fig. 38). Handle, hollow at back; convex in section with moulded ends terminating in flat discs, from which project three small knobs; in centre of each disc a short nail for attachment. L.  $\cdot 087$ ; br. (max.)  $\cdot 012$ .

45 (*a, b*) (Fig. 38). Carrying-handle (from small camp-kettle or *situla* ?), in form of a semi-circle with moulded turned-back ends, one of which is broken off; thicker in centre than towards ends, and  $\diamond$ -shaped in section. L.  $\cdot 043$ ; h.  $\cdot 03$ . Another similar, but smaller and complete; L.  $\cdot 02$ ; h.  $\cdot 03$ .

46 (Fig. 2). Lamp, with watch-shaped body, on hollow raised base. Long nozzle, resembling that of clay lamps with volutes at nozzle (see above, p. 120), and ring-handle which stretches almost to the central orifice, where it terminates in two discs or volutes. L.  $\cdot 094$ ; h.  $\cdot 046$  (to top of handle). Much encrusted but otherwise complete.

(*d*) *Weapons, Miscellaneous Implements, etc.*

47 (Fig. 38). Spear-head, cast with tubular socket  $\cdot 02$  in diameter; the extreme point and part of the edge of one flange are broken off; nail-hole midway along shank. L.  $\cdot 155$ ; original breadth  $\cdot 04$ .

48 (Fig. 38). Arrow-head with long shank terminating in a point; the tip of one barb is missing, and the shank broken through; the head is  $\diamond$ -shaped in section with small knobs at junction with shank. (For type, cf. *B.M. Bronzes*,

p. 347, Fig. 80, D.) L. over all  $\cdot 085$ ; br. of head  $\cdot 014$ .

49. A large number of rings (86 complete and 11 fragments, representing about six rings), all measuring approx.  $\cdot 017$  in internal diameter; these were found together and seem by their numbers to be the remains of a coat or jerkin of ring-chain mail, for which many Roman sites have furnished parallel examples.<sup>1</sup> It is, however, strange that they are not welded together in this case, like those from Newstead.

50. Curved strip of thin plating, broken in two; broken at both ends, but apparently complete above and below. It has no holes for attachment, but might, from its presumed diameter, have been the stiffening from the rim of an oval shield. L.  $\cdot 20$ ; h.  $\cdot 041$ .

51. Large plain ring, possibly from harness. Diam. inner,  $\cdot 028$ , outer  $\cdot 038$ .

52 (Fig. 37). Buckle (?), consisting of a nearly circular disc,  $\cdot 053$  in diameter, from which projects a long narrow strip  $\cdot 047 \times \cdot 007$ , bent over to form almost a right-angle. In the disc are cut two lunettes having a cross-piece  $\cdot 015$  wide (split through), near the centre of which is a hole presumably for a swivel-pin. (Possibly a portion of harness? The disc is slightly bent and a strap seems to have been passed through the lunette-like slits.)

53 (Fig. 37). Uncertain object in form of a crescent terminating in a small moulded knob; the other end is broken. Cast hollow, and convex on outer surface. L.  $\cdot 063$ ; br.  $\cdot 023$ . (The curve and small width make it unlikely to be a scabbard-point; possibly from the cross-piece of a sword-hilt?)

54 (Fig. 38). *Stilus*, with blunt point at one end and small flat rectangular blade at the other. The handle is ornamented with bands of moulding, facetting, and rough-graining. L.  $\cdot 11$ .

55 (*a, b, c*). *Stilus* (?) (or 'lamp-support'?): (*a*) with four-sided stem ending at one end in a spike and at the other, which is bent over at right angles, in a moulded dog's head; a few incised

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Curle, *A Roman Frontier-Post, Newstead*, p. 161, and Pl. XXXVIII., Figs. 8 and 10.

lines on stem close to the bent portion; l.  $\cdot 152$ ; (b) similar, but lacks spike; l.  $\cdot 152$ ; (c) similar, but smaller scale, complete; l.  $\cdot 112$ . (Possibly for surgical purposes; the single specimen described in *B.M. Bronzes* (2374) came from Orvieto, where it was found together with several surgical instruments.)

56 (Fig. 37). Bell, conical, with loop above, and faint incised lines round top and bottom; tongue lost, but iron pin from which it hung is preserved. H.  $\cdot 025$ .

57 (a). Weight, of oval shape; no suspension-ring above, but hole which held it remains. H.  $\cdot 028$ ; weight 70.70 grammes (= 1091.07 grains).

57 (b). Weight, with moulded top and suspension-ring, in form of two cones base to base. H.  $\cdot 03$ ; weight 28.15 grammes (= 434.43 grains). This weighs only a shade less than two-fifths of the previous weight (28.28 would be the exact amount).

58. Fragment of thin cylindrical plating, broken at one end. L.  $\cdot 036$ ; original diam. ca.  $\cdot 028$ ; less than a millimetre thick.

59. Broken hinge, with nail-holes.  $\cdot 032 \times \cdot 033$ .

60 (a-d). Four split pins, respectively  $\cdot 102$ ,  $\cdot 067$ ,  $\cdot 057$  and  $\cdot 045$  long; the last lacks one point. (60 b is shown on Fig. 38.)

61 (a, b). Nail, with plain flat head,  $\cdot 017$  in diam.; l.  $\cdot 09$ , with round shank, broken (Fig. 38); another, similar, diam. of head  $\cdot 016$ ; l.  $\cdot 033$ , broken.

62 (Fig. 38). Another, with convex head,  $\cdot 013$  in diam.; l.  $\cdot 045$ , with square shank, broken.

63 (Fig. 38). Another, with conical head; the upper part of the shank round, and doubled up, the lower part square in section. L.  $\cdot 07$ . (Possibly a suspension-hook, as the variation in the shank seems unlikely in an ordinary nail.)

64. Crucible, containing slag; shallow and nearly hemispherical below. Diam. ca.  $\cdot 13$ ; th.  $\cdot 005$ .

65 (a-e). Five fragments of unworked bronze

plate: (a)  $\cdot 086 \times \cdot 054 \times \cdot 004$ ; (b)  $\cdot 046 \times \cdot 013 \times \cdot 007$ ; (c) diamond-shaped,  $\cdot 042 \times \cdot 022 \times \cdot 003$ ; (d)  $\cdot 05 \times \cdot 01 \times \cdot 002$ , one end is rounded off; (e) tapering at one end,  $\cdot 04 \times \cdot 01 \times \cdot 007$ .

## (2) IRON.

66. Head of javelin (*pilum*), with long socket, which is damaged, but contains remains of decayed wood, ca.  $\cdot 018$  in diam. at end. L.  $\cdot 24$  over all, of which the haft is  $\cdot 165$  long.

67. Part of a large knife, with cutting edge; both ends of blade lost. L.  $\cdot 174$ ; br.  $\cdot 022$ .

68. Spur (?) with rowel broken off short; the heel-piece ends in small discs; no traces of buckles or attachment. Br.  $\cdot 07$ .

69. Key, with elaborate wards, and large ring-handle. L.  $\cdot 125$ ; br. of head  $\cdot 043$ .

70 a and b (Fig. 38). Small key with plain head, l.  $\cdot 052$ ; and key-handle and broken fragment of stem, l.  $\cdot 05$ .

71. Looped handle, one end pointed, the other broken off short. L.  $\cdot 14$ ; th.  $\cdot 0065$ .

72. Uncertain, perhaps unfinished fragment, roughly semicircular, with ends roughly pointed. Inner diam.  $\cdot 09$ ; th.  $\cdot 008$ .

## (3) LEAD.

73. Lamp-holder, in form of a ladle, with large bowl and flat handle on which is stamped in relief L.COPOMIVS. L.  $\cdot 177$ ; br. of bowl  $\cdot 07$ . For another example of this stamp cf. *C.I.L.* xv. 2, 8001 (from Rome).

74. Small shallow circular mould, with radial flutings. Inner diam.  $\cdot 034$ ; depth  $\cdot 01$ .

75. Dowel, in the shape of a foot, presumably from the base of a life-size bronze statue. L.  $\cdot 256$ ; br.  $\cdot 095$ ; roughly flat above and below.

76. Large weight (?), roughly spherical, with suspension-ring above. H.  $\cdot 13$ ; diam.  $\cdot 11$ ; weight 8,753 grammes (= 135,080 grains).

77. Ring, cut, undecorated. Inner diam.  $\cdot 02$ ; outer  $\cdot 03$ .

## BONE AND IVORY OBJECTS.

*(a) Fragments of Flutes.*

1. THE following fragments, ten in number, apparently come from flutes. Several different instruments are presumably represented, as there is a considerable variety in the diameter of the separate pieces, and none of them shew appreciable signs of tapering in either direction. Most of them are cut with smooth edges, shewing the original instruments to have been jointed, and fragment *e* has a rabbeted edge at the joint. The material is bone, except for fragment *e*, which seems to be ivory, and the original uneven marrow-hole is left unaltered. The vent-holes range from  $\cdot 014$  down to  $\cdot 0045$  in diameter, and some fragments have more than one. There is no clue to the original length of the instruments, which seem not to have had any outer copper sheathing, as did the interesting group from Meroë published a few years ago.<sup>1</sup> For the benefit of possible students of ancient music full particulars of the holes and their positions are carefully given.

(*a*) Diam.  $\cdot 045$  (or slightly more); l.  $\cdot 111$ ; complete at one end, which is incised with a shallow triple beading, the other broken. Two holes, diam. *ca.*  $\cdot 014$ , at  $\cdot 026$  and  $\cdot 078$  (on centres) from the unbroken end.

(*b*) Diam.  $\cdot 03$ ; l.  $\cdot 102$ ; similar beading at one end, the other end cut through unevenly. Two holes, diam.  $\cdot 009$ , at  $\cdot 035$  and  $\cdot 078$  from beaded end, a shallow groove running along the surface through the line of the holes seems of natural origin on the bone.

(*c*) Diam.  $\cdot 03$ ; l.  $\cdot 075$ ; similar beading, both ends undamaged. Two holes, diam.  $\cdot 009$ , at  $\cdot 035$  and  $\cdot 075$  from beaded end. Surface groove as on the last.

(*d*) Diam.  $\cdot 022$ ; l.  $\cdot 073$ ; similar beading, both ends undamaged. Two holes, diam.  $\cdot 007$ , at

$\cdot 014$  and  $\cdot 039$  from beaded end. Surface groove as on the two last, but runs past the edges of the holes.

(*e*) Ivory (?). Diam.  $\cdot 024$ ; l.  $\cdot 024$ ; similar, but finer-cut beading, and rabbeted joint at the other end. No holes. These five beaded fragments are probably end-pieces.

(*f*) Diam.  $\cdot 025$ ; l.  $\cdot 039$ ; both ends undamaged. One hole, diam.  $\cdot 008$ , at  $\cdot 022$  from one end (on centre).

(*g*) Diam.  $\cdot 028$ ; l.  $\cdot 021$ ; complete. One hole, diam.  $\cdot 007$ , at  $\cdot 0115$  from end.

(*h*) Diam.  $\cdot 028$ ; l.  $\cdot 016$ ; complete. One hole, diam.  $\cdot 007$ , midway.

(*i*) Diam.  $\cdot 028$ ; l.  $\cdot 012$ ; complete. One hole, diam.  $\cdot 005$ , midway.

(*j*) Diam.  $\cdot 031$ ; l.  $\cdot 011$ ; complete. One hole, diam.  $\cdot 0045$ , midway.

*(b) Discs and Studs.*

The following are all of bone, unless the contrary is stated.

2. Circular flat disc, broken in half; rabbeted moulding on edge, and concentric circles roughly incised on surface. Diam. originally  $\cdot 072$ ; th.  $\cdot 0055$ .

3. Circular disc, slightly convex, with beaded edge. Diam.  $\cdot 041$ ; small hole,  $\cdot 008$  in diam., in centre.

4. Similar, but flat, with beaded edge. Diam.  $\cdot 027$ .

5. Similar, flat in centre, beaded moulding near edge. Diam.  $\cdot 027$ ; small hole,  $\cdot 008$  in diam., in centre.

6. Similar, slightly convex, plain. Diam.  $\cdot 022$ ; small hole,  $\cdot 082$  in diam., in centre.

7. Similar, convex, incised with small shallow circles, one in centre and seven grouped round it. Diam.  $\cdot 024$ .

<sup>1</sup> *Ancient Flutes from Egypt*, *J.H.S.* xxxv. (1915), pp. 12-21.

8. Similar, thick and flat. Diam. .021; th. .005; small hole, .011 in diam., in centre, with shallow circle incised around the hole.

9. Stud in the form of a bobbin, roughly turned. L. .021.

10. Another, almost identical, partly chipped away near narrowest point. L. .021.

11. Another, more slender, with projecting ends. L. .024.

(c) *Miscellaneous.*

12. Pendant, roughly resembling a closed fist on a plain circular base; pierced with two holes at right angles in upper and lower part respectively. H. .016; apparently ivory.

13. Fragment of ornamental comb-handle (?), cut out of a section of a bone, with uncertain fret-work design (resembling a wheel on extreme r.). L. .082; h. .016.

14. Bottom of a seal box; hollowed interior, with two slits at sides for the string, and a cutting at the straight edge for the hinge. Three holes in under-surface, and two near the end for hinge-pin. L. .032; br. .022. These objects seem much more rare in bone or ivory than in bronze, of which there are two examples described above (p. 129, Nos. 19, 20).

15. Spoon, with plain circular bowl, and handle. L. .108; diam. of bowl .021.

16. Needle, with eye broken away and point missing. L. .107.

17 (a, b). Two bodkins, both lacking their points. L. (a) .176, with mouldings at end; (b) .168, plain.

18 (a-p). Sixteen bone stili, which need not be described in detail. Six only are complete; five of these have bulbs at one end and somewhat blunt points at the other; the sixth has a thick and a fine point at its two ends. The remainder lack one or both ends. They vary in length from .06-.11.

19 (a, b). Two splinters of thin plaques, perhaps from a casket, with shallow moulding near one edge. L. (a) .05; br. .019; (b) .058 × .007.

20 (a, b). Two bear's tusks. L. (a) .07; (b) .058, broken.

21. Uncertain object, possibly a handle, circular in section, and pierced at each end with a small hole (which may run the whole length but is choked); moulded near each end. L. .117; diam. ca. .015.

GLASS.

The collection of glass may be briefly dismissed. There are fragments of about 40 vessels in all, some represented by quite small pieces only, and, not unnaturally, those that are best preserved are the least interesting. There are a few pieces of polychrome fabric which merit fuller description, but none of the shapes represented by either these or the monochrome fragments appear at all rare. Nor need we look for a date other than the first two or three centuries of our era for any of the pieces.

(a) *Oil-flasks.* (18.) There are eighteen of these, more or less complete, though only three have the rims unchipped. They are mostly long-necked with the belly either (1) pear-shaped, (2) conical, or (3) merely slightly bulbous. Exceptional are two with shorter necks, belonging to a different category, which may be compared with Nos. 38 and 39, respectively, of the types illustrated by Kisa.<sup>1</sup> They range in height from .124 down to .05. All except two are of transparent bluish-green, with little or no iridescence. These two are of a pale violet tinge (h. .053, neck broken) and a light amber (h. .05, complete) respectively.

(b) *Jugs.* (2.) One fragment of the neck of a large thin jug, practically colourless, and one from the trefoil-spout (of an *amphora*?), also colourless.

(c) *Bowls.* (3.) One fragment from the side of a 'pillar-bowl' with high projecting ridges, and a portion of the foot, probably of the same bowl; both with a rich electric-green iridescence. One fragment of rim and side of a shallow bowl with projecting shoulder and shallow vertical flutings. H. .04; l. .06; deep blue. (Cf. Kisa, *op. cit.*

<sup>1</sup> *Das Glas im Altertum* [1908], Formentafel A.

p. 83, Fig. 42). One fragment of moulded 'pillar-bowl' of warm amber-coloured glass. These pieces are little, if any, later than the first century of our era.

(d) *Miscellaneous*. (12.) One fragment from the rim, which is slightly concave, of a small beaker, and eleven other pieces of vessels of large but uncertain shape. Six of these, of which the largest measures  $\cdot 13 \times \cdot 06$ , are almost flat, and might come from one or more four-sided urns; they have a rich purple iridescence. The remainder are from plain blue or yellow vessels with curved sides.

(e) *Polychrome glass*. (1.) Three fragments of deep amber colour, with white inlay. One is from the neck, with rim damaged, of (probably) a globular jug, and two others might be from the same or a similar vessel. (2.) One similar neck-fragment, with colouring inlaid in red, white, and green spiral stripes. (3.) Handle (?) in form of a snake's head, with wavy longitudinal stripes of yellow, black, blue, and white, l.  $\cdot 06$ . (4) and (5) are inlaid with stripes of blue, white, and purple, and yellow, white, and purple respectively.

For this class see Kisa, *op. cit.* pp. 401 ff., and Pl. II., III., IV.; some of his finest examples are of Egyptian origin, but the fashion clearly found many patrons and imitators in Italy.

(6, 7) Two small fragments of mosaic-inlaid glass. The former,  $\cdot 022 \times \cdot 024$ , is from the rim of an open bowl, the latter a flat piece, possibly from the bottom of the same (or a similar) vessel,  $\cdot 036 \times \cdot 036$ . Both are of bright blue glass

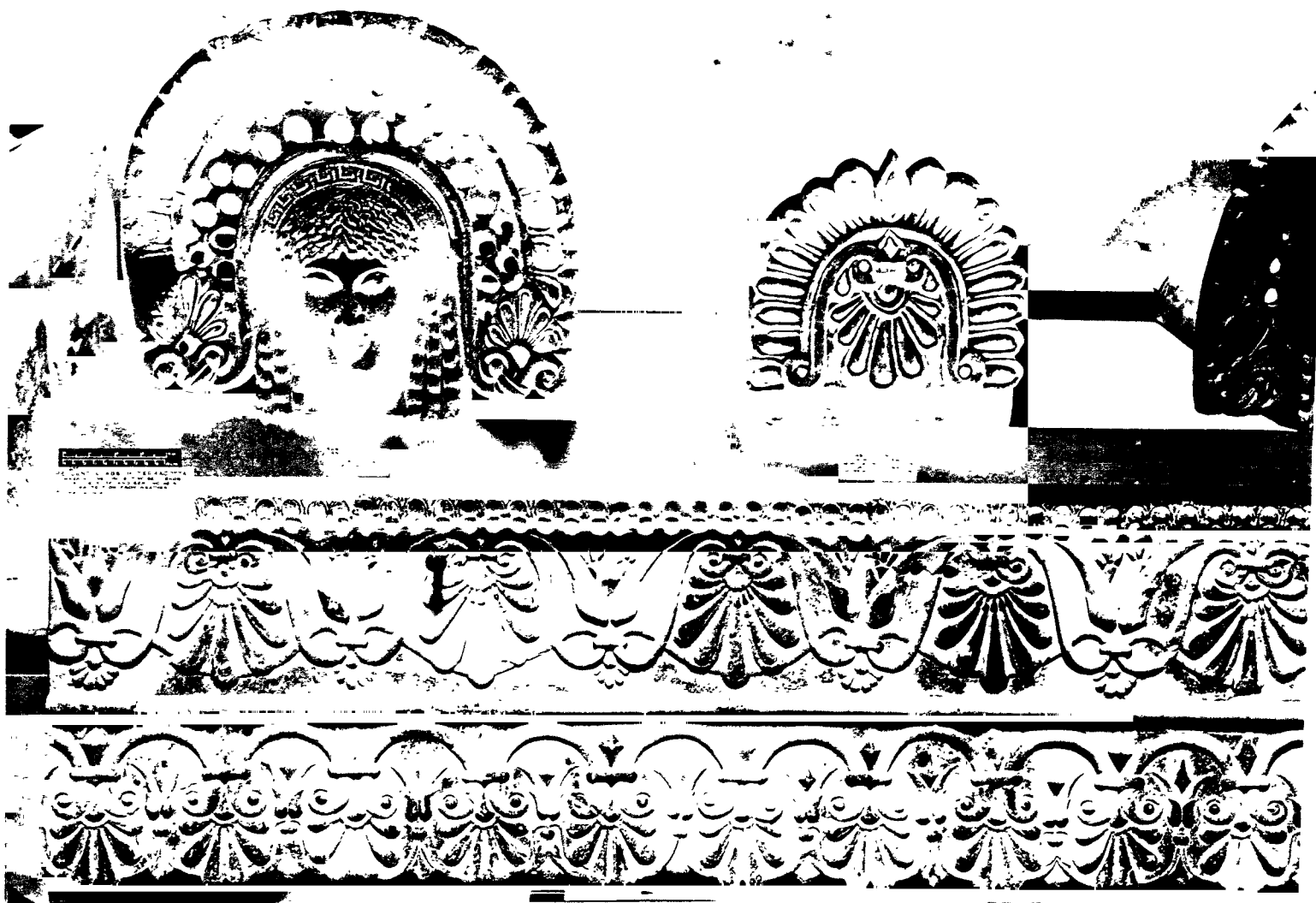
inlaid with white stripes and small grains. For mosaic-inlaid vessels, cf. Kisa, *op. cit.* pp. 501 ff.

(f) *Moulded and gilt glass*. One fragment, perhaps from a stopper only, hollow, and broken below. The surface near the top is moulded in relief with two small lions' masks separated by groups of pellets, with a tongue moulding below, where the width begins to increase. Light amber-coloured glass, with traces of gilding; h.  $\cdot 04$ . This is of good workmanship and probably akin to the large group of perfume-bottles modelled in imitation of flowers and fruits (Kisa, *op. cit.* pp. 773 ff.).

(g) *Window-glass*. Four fragments, practically colourless, but not clear, of which the largest measures  $\cdot 10 \times \cdot 078$ ; this and one other are from the edges of panes.

(h) *Beads, etc.* Four beads of blue vitreous paste (one broken); two of blue glass, one of opaque green glass (or emerald-root?), and one of clear glass (total, 8). Also thirteen 'counters,' flat below, convex above,  $\cdot 01$ – $\cdot 02$  in diameter, of glass and glass paste. Half of a disc, perhaps a spindle-whorl, of black vitreous material; flat below, convex above, with small central hole; on it is an incised scroll pattern, inlaid with white. Diam. ca.  $\cdot 04$ .

(i) *Semi-precious stones*. Part of small plaque, apparently of crystal,  $\cdot 058 \times \cdot 03$ , unpolished. Fragment of polished agate, with one edge worked smooth, h.  $\cdot 048$ ; br.  $\cdot 042$ ; th.  $\cdot 007$ ; another, of the same material,  $\cdot 035 \times \cdot 03 \times \cdot 004$ , broken on all sides.



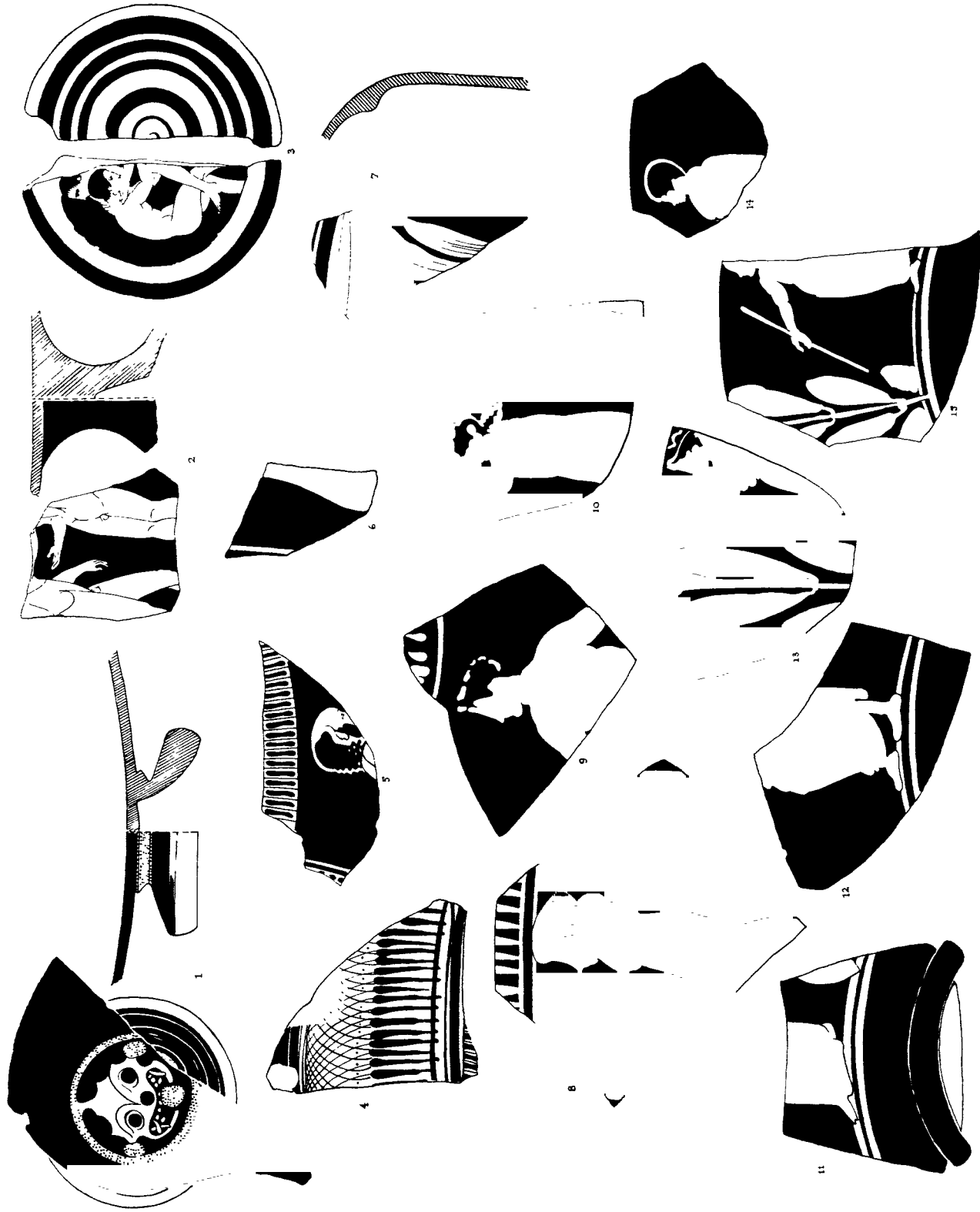
(a) ARCHAIC ANTEFIX AND HANGING CORNICE FROM LANUVIUM  
AS RECONSTRUCTED IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM



(b) ARCHAIC ANTEFIX FROM LANUVIUM. AT LEEDS  
SCALE 1.3

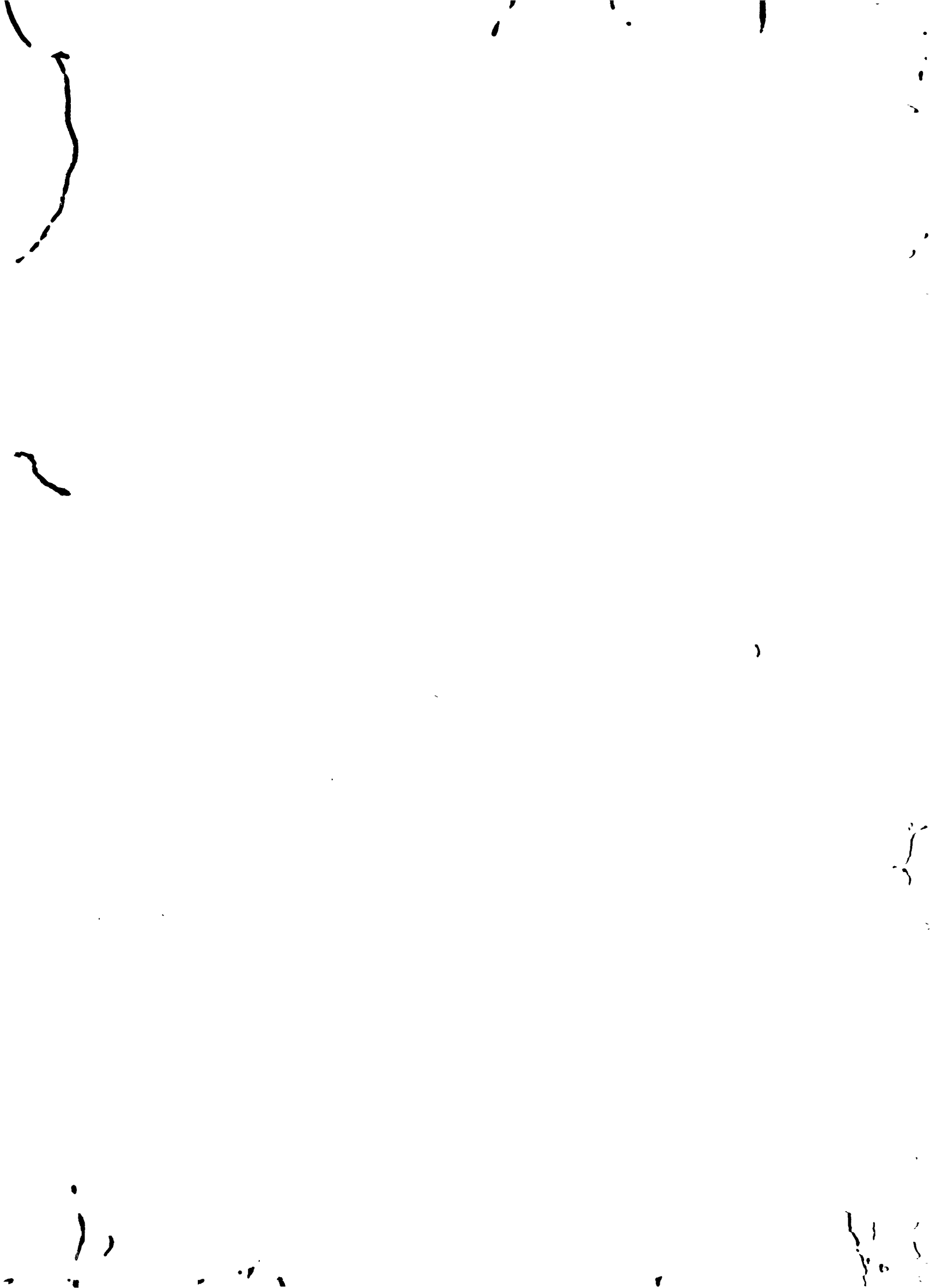


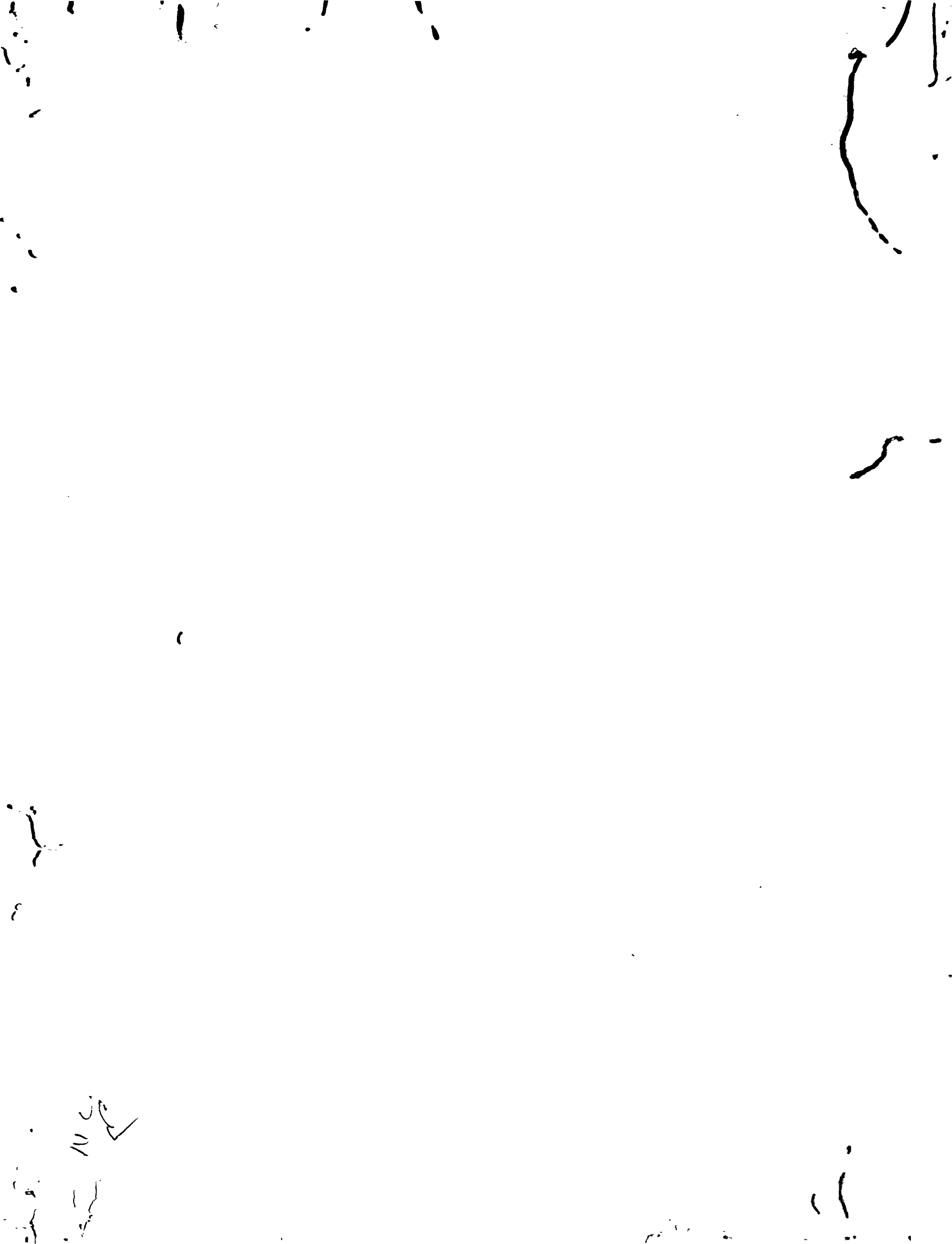




VASE FRAGMENTS FROM LANUVIUM Nos 1-5 ARE ATTIC. THE REST ITALO-GREEK  
SCALE 1 2







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